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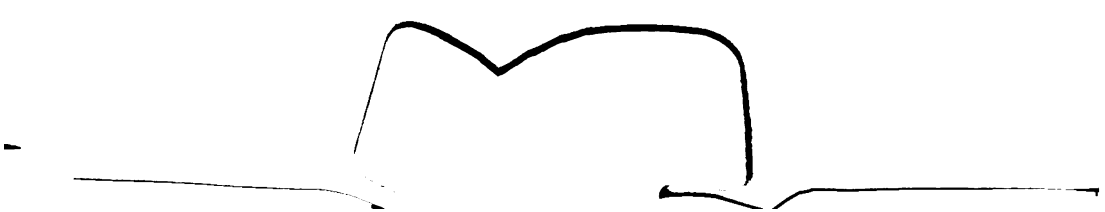

THE MEMOIRS OF RUFUS PUTNAM

THE MEMOIRS OF RUFUS PUTNAM

AND

CERTAIN OFFICIAL PAPERS
AND CORRESPONDENCE

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE COLONIAL DAMES
OF AMERICA IN THE STATE OF OHIO

COMPILED AND ANNOTATED BY
MISS ROWENA BUELL, MARIETTA, OHIO
COLONIAL DAME OF MASSACHUSETTS AND MEMBER
OF THE OHIO SOCIETY

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Published December 1903

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CALIFORNIA

Rufus Putnam

1760 Commissioned Ensign, Massachusetts
1773 Commissioned Deputy Surveyor, West Florida
1774 Commissioned Captain Lieutenant of Grenadiers, Massachusetts
1775 Commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 9th Regiment in the Army of the United Colonies
1776 Appointed Military Engineer
1776 Commissioned Colonel of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment in the Army of the United States
1783 Commissioned Brigadier General in the Army of the United States
1785 Appointed Superintendent of the Survey of Eastern Lands, Massachusetts
1785 Appointed Member of the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands, Massachusetts
1785 Appointed Surveyor of Western Lands under the Ordinance of 1785
1786 Appointed Commissioner to the Penobscot Indians, Massachusetts
1787 Appointed Justice of the Peace, Massachusetts
1787 Elected Member of the General Assembly of Massachusetts
1787 Appointed Superintendent of the Affairs of the Ohio Company
1788 Commissioned Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum, Washington County, Northwest Territory
1788 Commissioned Judge of Probate, Washington County, Northwest Territory
1790 Commissioned Judge of the General Court of the Northwest Territory
1792 Commissioned Brigadier General in the Army of the United States
1796 Commissioned Surveyor General of the United States
1801 Appointed Trustee of Ohio University
1802 Elected Member of the First Ohio Constitutional Convention

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PREFATORY NOTE

GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM was a man to delight the soul of a historian. He not only made history, he also recorded it. With painstaking care he preserved all his voluminous correspondence, including copies of his own letters, for most of his life kept a journal, made extensive memoranda of various sorts, and punctiliously filed all his papers, adding explanatory endorsements. His prominent position, as a trusted officer in the Revolutionary army and leader of the Marietta pioneers, brought him into contact with most of the noted men of our Republic in its early days, and gives to his papers exceptional value. This large mass of most interesting manuscript material was bequeathed to Marietta College by General Putnam's grandson, William Rufus Putnam, and is now in possession of the College. Besides the Memoirs and letters printed in the present volume, this collection contains the original records and surveys of the Ohio Company of Associates, the early court records of Washington County, and a large mass of additional correspondence. A further collection of manuscripts bequeathed to Marietta College by Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth includes much material connected with the early history of this section.

The present publication is made possible through the active interest and generosity of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Ohio. A few years ago the Trustees of

Marietta College granted to Mrs. Willis E. Hall (Ina Buckingham Fenner), a lineal descendant of General Rufus Putnam, the privilege of publishing these papers. Feeling that wider circulation would thus be given to papers of so great historical value, she transferred her right to the Society of Colonial Dames, of which she was an active member. The Publication Committee of this Society were most fortunate in securing as editor Miss Rowena Buell, of Marietta, whose care and good judgment are evident on every page.

The purpose governing in the selection of papers for publication has been to portray General Putnam chiefly in his official character, and to print only those letters referred to in the Memoirs or closely germane to their subject-matter. In carrying out this purpose it has seemed desirable to print again some letters already published in "The Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler." A very few letters referred to in the Memoirs have not been found.

The effort has been made to reproduce with minute accuracy these selected papers, many of which are entirely in General Putnam's own handwriting, and no one of which is without at least endorsement in his script. The editor has added some explanatory notes where it seemed necessary, denoting them by numerals to distinguish them from General Putnam's own notes, which are marked by asterisks.

It is hoped that this publication will awaken new interest in the early history of the West, as well as serve to call attention to a really notable figure of

Revolutionary days, the trusted counsellor of Washington, the brave leader of brave men, and the founder of the first permanent settlement in the Northwest Territory.

ALFRED TYLER PERRY,
President of Marietta College.

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INTRODUCTION

BY HON. GEORGE F. HOAR

THE work of most of the great men of the world would not have been missed, if they had not lived. Their places would have been filled by others. The currents of history would not have been changed by their absence. They are like ranges of mountains. If one peak be removed, another beyond comes into view, and the effect in the landscape is about the same.

But there are a few men to whom it has been given to stand at the parting of the ways, or the parting of the waters, to turn the currents of human history and to determine the destiny of States and Nations. They have not done merely a work that somebody else would have accomplished but for them. The work was their own, and would not have been done without them. Beyond a question one of these was Rufus Putnam, whose simple, modest story is now given to the world for the first time. He died without knowing its sublimity, or foreseeing its result.

But his title to be enrolled in that small but honorable list rests upon impregnable foundations.

April 7, 1783, Timothy Pickering writes to Hodgdon that "there is a plan for the forming of a new State Westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the Army are heartily engaged in it. The propositions respecting it are in the hands of General

Huntington and General Putnam, the total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution."

Neither Huntington nor Pickering is heard of again in the matter. But Rufus Putnam pressed it upon General Washington in repeated letters which General Washington answered, affirming his own earnest interest in the scheme, and saying that he had urged it upon Congress, but had been unable to create any interest in the matter. Meantime there were other plans before Congress for settling the Ohio Territory, especially one of Mr. Jefferson's. But none of them contemplated the exclusion of slavery until after the year 1800. Even with that limitation, as the subsequent attempts to establish slavery there showed, Jefferson's scheme would have been utterly futile to exclude it. The measure failed in Congress, and was dead until in the year 1787 Rufus Putnam issued from his house in Rutland a call for a Convention of representative soldiers from the different counties of Massachusetts, to meet at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, to take steps for forming the Ohio Company, and settling the Territory by a body of veteran soldiers. The Company so formed elected him its Superintendent.

Thereafter General Putnam sent General S. H. Parsons to Philádelphia to negotiate for the purchase of lands for the new State. General Parsons came back, having utterly failed to accomplish anything. Thereupon General Putnam sent Manasseh Cutler, an eminent clergyman and man of science, afterward member of Congress from Massachusetts. Cutler had

met Putnam in Boston, and agreed with him upon the conditions to be required. He returned to Massachusetts crowned with complete success.

The proposals were so advantageous that it was impossible for Congress to reject them. They included the payment of a large sum of money into the empty treasury of the Confederation, full satisfaction of the claims of a large number of veteran soldiers, securing the allegiance of the Western Territory, a matter about which, as appears by Washington's letters and his Farewell Address, great anxiety then existed, and interposing a shield of disciplined soldiers for the protection of western New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia against the most powerful and warlike Indian tribes on the continent, and compelling, what then seemed very doubtful, the performance by Great Britain of her treaty obligation to evacuate the Northwest.

The Ordinance of 1787, which had been brought to life from the tomb to which it had been consigned in the preceding Congress, was reported by Nathan Dane, without any provision for excluding slavery, because, as he said, he did not believe that it could possibly be adopted. Thereupon Cutler announced that he should take his departure. But he was urged to remain, and assured that the next day Congress would come to his terms. The next day Dane moved on the floor an amendment, now in existence in his own handwriting, containing the provision for the perpetual and irrevocable exclusion of slavery. That was unanimously adopted, with the exception of one vote.

Rufus Putnam himself led the first company of settlers to Marietta, arriving there on the 7th of April, 1788, and laid the foundation of what are now six mighty States. The Company of settlers voted that the 7th day of April in every year should be forever celebrated as the day when Rufus Putnam founded Ohio. Harris, the early historian, dedicates the collection of documents relating to the early history of the Territory "To Rufus Putnam, the Founder and Father of Ohio."

Each of the three States, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, afterward struggled to get rid of the prohibition without effect. This makes it clear that, without it, the settlers, who were largely from Virginia, would have introduced slavery there, and that Jefferson's inhibition to take effect after 1800 would have proved feeble and abortive.

In the Ohio State Convention of 1802, when the first Constitution was adopted, the champions of slavery were so nearly in the ascendant that Rufus Putnam, then an old man, called up Ephraim Cutler, son of Manasseh, from his sick-bed late at night, told him that there was danger that slavery would be established by the Convention, and with Cutler's aid succeeded in defeating it by a single vote. But for Rufus Putnam, the great Northwest Territory would to-day be made up of slave States. The United States would have been a great slaveholding empire, and if the Civil War had taken place at all, the power of this mighty group of commonwealths would have turned the scale on the Southern side.

The action of General Putnam was equally decisive

in compelling the evacuation of Boston by the British troops when Washington was meditating an attack, under circumstances which but for Putnam's fortunate inspiration would have compelled him with his undisciplined army, ill-supplied with ammunition, to make an attack on a superior force, well entrenched in the town, supported by a powerful fleet, or to have delayed the attack until the arrival of reinforcements to the British, which would have enabled them to put Washington on the defensive under circumstances which would have rendered victory to the patriotic cause almost hopeless. That story is told in the following pages. But for the providential inspiration which enabled Rufus Putnam to fortify Dorchester Heights, it is likely that the British forces would have possessed themselves of Massachusetts, and possessing themselves of Massachusetts, could have subdued the rebellion.

That General Putnam tells the story of his life modestly and with absolute truth, nobody who reads it will be likely to doubt. He makes no claim for himself, except of having served his country faithfully and to the satisfaction and with the respect of his superiors, especially of his great leader Washington.

He has made no special claim for himself in regard to either of the transactions to which we have referred. But he does claim that it was due to him that Washington's army was saved in New York at the single most trying and dangerous period of the Revolutionary War. Of the justice of that claim, military men and experts in military history are the best judges. It is believed, however, that he is entitled to wear that laurel also.

Other engineers might have constructed the fortifications at West Point, which in fact were the work of Rufus Putnam, whom Washington declared to be the best engineer officer on our side, whether French or American. Other engineers might have selected West Point for the place to be fortified. But Rufus Putnam in fact selected West Point and constructed the fortifications there. That alone would have been enough to give him a high place in history, and a high place in the gratitude of his countrymen. But in his title to public gratitude for the unequalled service of saving the Northwest from slavery, and in delivering Massachusetts from the invader, he is without a competitor.

RUFUS PUTNAM'S MEMORANDUM BOOK OF FAMILY CONCERNS

RUFUS PUTNAM'S MEMORANDUM BOOK OF FAMILY CONCERNS

"JOHN PUTNAM came from Buckingham Shire in England, Anno–1634, and Setled in Salem Maſſachuſetts. — he brought three Sons with him viz. Thomas, Nathaniel, and John: he (that is the Father) died at the age of about eighty years, very Suddenly. he eat his Supper, went to prayer in his family, and died before he went to Sleep"

Edward Putnam, Grandſon of the first John gives the above account in a manuſcript dated 1733, himſelf being then 79 years of age, & adds "from thoſe three proceeded twelve males, from those 12, forty males and from those 40, eighty two males. there was none of the name of Putnam in New England but those of this family" with reſpect to there Sittuation in Life he remarks "I can Say with the Pſalmist . . I have ben young and now am old yet I have not Seen the Righteous forsaken, nor there Seed beging bread, except to God who provid[s] for all. For God hath given to the generation of my Fathers, Agurs portion, neither poverty nor riches but hath fead us with food convenient for us; and their Children have ben able to help others in there need. — The third generation are all gon to their Fathers but three and he that gives this account is one of them aged 79 years"

In 1741 at the age of 87, he gives the names of the following heads of Families, of the Fourth generation [1]

[1] The following genealogical lists are at variance with those in the *History of the Putnam Family* by Eben Putnam, and should not be relied upon.

viz " Edward, Eliſha, Joſeph, Ezra, Isaac, Nathaniel, Daniel, Benjamin, Tarrent, Cornelius, Stephen, Israel, Thomas, Edward, Archelus, Joseph, Samuel John, Amos, Joſiah, James Jethro, Caroline John Jonathan, Henry, Holyoak, Jacob, William, David Ely Joſhua, Henry — 32 " but how many there were at that time of that generation he Sais he could not tell; this good old man died in the year 1747 in the 94th year of his age —

The Putnam Family as before Stated Settled at Salem Maſsachusetts in Anno 1634, and they are very numerous at this day in that and the neighbouring towns. however, they are a family by no means ſo Governed by Local habits as Some others, they now Spread through all New England and many other parts of the United States, nor have I ever found one of the name, but was decended from the Salem Family. —

It would be in Vain to attemp at this day to give an account of all the Male desendents of the family. however, I Shall attempt a Genealogy as far as has come to my knowledge. —

And first Thomas Putnam (the eldest Son of our Ancester John Putnam, had 4 Sons. Thomas, Edward, Archelus, & Joſeph —

Edward was born July 4th 1654 and died at upwards of 93, before mentioned, his Sons were the 4 Generation

viz Edward born April 29th 1682 — who lived to an old age

Holyoak dº Sept 18th 1683, killed by the Indians

* Eliſha dº Novr 3d 1685 died June 10th 1745

* he removed from Salen & Settled in Sutton, May 1725 Isaac also removed to Sutton Soon after —

Joſeph d° [born] Nov^{r} 1st 1687
Nehemiah d° Decem^{r} 20th 1694 — died young
Ezra — d° April 29th 1696 d° at about 51
Iſaac — d° March 14th 1698 died at the age of 59
of the 5th Generation Sons of Edward 2^{d} viz
Edard 3^{d} Settled in Sutton died at a very advanced age leaveing a numerous Issue —
Holyoak who alſo Settled in Sutton &
Miles who first Settled in Midleton
5th generation Sons of Elisha, 3^{d} Son of Edward 1st
Eliſha, [born] December 2^{d} 1715 died in the army 1758 —
Nehemiah, d° March 22^{d} 1719. died at Sutton Nov^{r} 27th 1791 —
Jonathan, d° July 19th 1721 d° at d° —
Stephen, d° April 4th 1728 d° New hampſhair March 5th 1803
Amos, d° [born] July 22^{d} 1730, — died augst 19th 1811
* Rufus, d° April 9th 1738, —
5th generation Sons of Joſeph 4th Son of Edward 1st Oliver, & Joſeph.
5th Generation Sons of Ezra 6th Son of Edward 1st
Nehemiah, who died young. —
† Ezra — he had three Sons who all died without Male iſsue —
5th generation Sons Isaac 7th Son of Edward 1st
Phinehas, Asaph, Nathan, Isaac, Edward & Daniel
Edward died young. the others have numerous families —

* Commenced the Settlement of Marietta on the Ohio 7th April 1788 and arrived there with his family November 1790
† Settled at Marietta 1790 — with two Sons

6th Generation decending from Eliſh, Son of Edward 1st

viz Sons of Elisha 2d

Andrew, Elisha, *Antepaſs, Jockton, Luke William—

viz. Sons of Nehemiah —

Aaron, Reeuben, Joſeph, Benjamin — —

viz. Sons of Jonathan

Adonijah, † Folinsbee, Jonathan, Francis, John —

viz — Sons of Stephen

Solomon, John, Eliſha, Gideon, Lewis, David, Rufus

viz. Son, of Amos.

Paul, who died in Childhood

viz Sons of Rufus

‡ Ayres, William Rufus, Franklin, Edwin

7th generation viz the Great Grandsons of Elisha Son of Edward 1st N B the Grand Sons of Eliſha, Nehemiah, Jonathan and Stephen are at preſent unknown. it is preſumed on good grounds they are numerous, for in the year 1805 the Grand children of Stephen amounted to 52, and Andrew the eldest Son of Elisha has Sons at lest 40 year old, and Adonijah Sons nearly as old —

7th generation Grandsons of Nehemiah, Son of Elisha 1st

viz Sons of Aaron

Calvin, Franklin, Luther. the two Last died in Childhood

viz. Sons of Reuben —

Aaron, Jonas, Joseph Maſon, Maning, Rufus, Rufus Austing, John

viz. Sons of Joſeph —

John Town, Daniel and Benjamin

viz Sons of Benjamin

* died at the Havanna in 1764 —

† Follinsbee & Jonathan both died in Childhood

‡ Ayres & Franklin died in Childhood

Simeon, Rufus, Joſeph, John 2d Joſeph & 3d — Joſeph all except Simeon & John died in Childhood and youth

7th generation, Grandſons of Rufus, Son of Elisha 1st viz Sons of Wm Rufus

William, who died a few days after born

Wm Rufus born June 13th 1812

viz. Sons of Edwin

Franklin

Rufus —

Wm Rice —

7th Generation, Andrew, and Adonijah, mentioned in the last page have Several Sons but the number cannot at preſent be aſsertained —

8th Generation, it is highly probable ther are many of this Generation. Andrew & Adonijah have doubtleſs a number of Grand Children —

7 Generation, Grandsons of Elisha Son of Elisha 1st — viz Sons of Andrew —

Andrew — Malachai — Peter — Stephen — David

In revewing this memore, in justice to the Character of my Father, Eliſha Putnam, I ought to mention that he was much reſpected as a Citizen & Christian, was Town Clerk many years & Deacon of the Church, and repreſented the town of Sutton at the General Court — how many years I cannot say —

Decendents of Joſeph, the youngest Son of Thomas & Grandson of our venerable ancestor John Putnam: he was half Brother to Edward the first whose decendents have ben noticed

4th Generation Sons of the above Joſeph

William, David, Israel 1st

5th generation Sons of David —

William, Allen, Joseph, Israel, Jeſse

5th generation Sons of Israel * 2 his Sons
6th Israel, Daniel, (who died young) Daniel, Chuyler
6th generation Sons of Wm Son of David 1st
Andrew & William
6th generation Sons of Joseph Son of David 1st
Jeſse
6th generation Sons of Israel Son of David 1st
Allen, Daniel, Israel
6th generation Sons of Israel † Son of Israel 1st
Israel, Aaron Waldow, David, Wm Pitt, Georg Waſhington
6th Generation, Sons of Daniel, Son of General Israel
William
6th generation Sons of Chuyler, Son of Genl Israel
John, Nathan — P Schuyler — Oliver
7th generation Sons of Israel Son of Colo Israel
7th generation Sons of Aaron Waldow Son of Colo Israel
Wm Pitt — Aaron Waldo — Israel Loreing
7th generation Sons of David Son of Colo Israel
Benjn Perkins — Charles M — Peter R. Douglefs David Murray George
7th generation Sons of George W Son of Colo Israel
N B Wm Pitt Son of Colo Israel died without iſsue

The decendents of the branches of the Putnam Family, are very numerous, an account of whome has not ben attempted, for want of documents, and it is to be observed, that of the thirty two heads of Familes, mentioned by my Grand father in 1741 the decendents of only eight of them have ben notised and those not very partially in Several instence —

* this is the celebrated General Putnam, born at Danvers Mafsachufetts 1716 Settled at pomphret Connecticutt for whose character and Military achievements See the history of his life —

† Colo Putnam with all his Family removed to the ohio between 1788 & 1797 — Settled at Marietta & Bellprie

Having given Some account of my anceſtors, and a genealogy of the Putnam Family as far as has come within my knowledge, it may be proper to give Some account of my Self hopeing it may be of Some amuſement if not of use to my decendents —

I am the youngest Son of Elisha Putnam, who was the third Son of Edward, grandson of John Putnam, who Settled at Salem in 1634 as before mentioned — My Mothers Maiden name was Susanna Fuller, daughter of Jonathan Fuller of Danvers —

I was born the 9th of April 1738, at Sutton in Maſsachusetts. in 1745 at the age of Seven years and two months, I became an orphan by the death of my Father. from his death to September 1747 I lived with my grandfather Fuller. to this time I was keept at School as much as Children uſually were at that day, and could read pritty well in the bible — —

In Sept 1747 I went to live with my Step Father, Capt John Sadler (at Upton) and continued with him untill his death (in September or october 1753)[1]

[1] [Copy] By the Honourable
JOSEPH WILDER ESQ.
Judge of Probate of Wills for and within the County of Worcester in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay —

To Jonathan Dudley of Sutton in the County and Province aforesaid, Yeoman — Greeting

Trusting to your care and fidelity, I do, by these presents, pursuant to the power and authority to me granted, in and by an Act of the General Assembly of the said Province, nominate and appoint you to be Guardian unto Rufus Putnam, a minor, aged 14 years, son of Elisha Putnam late of said Sutton, Yeoman deceased, he having made choice of you, with full power and authority to ask, demand, sue for, recover, receive, & take into your custody, all and singular such part and portion of Estate as accrues to him in right of his Father aforesaid, deceased — or which, by any other way or means whatsoever, doth of right belong or appertain to him — and to manage employ, and improve the same, to his best proffit and advantage — and to render a plain and true account of your Guardianship, upon oath, so far as the law will charge you therewith when you shall be

during the six year I lived with Cap^{t} Sadler, I never Saw the inſide of a School house, except about three weeks. he was very illiterate himſelf, and took no care for the education of his family; but this was not all I was made a ridecule of, and otherwise abused for my attention to books, and attempting to write, and learn Arethmatic, however, amidst all those discouragements I made Some advances in writeing and Arethmatic, that is I could make Letters that could be under ſtood, and had gon as far in Arethmatic as to work the rule of three (without any teacher but the book) — Oh! my Children beware you neglect not the education of any under your care as I was neglected. —

In March 1754 I was bound apprentice to Daniel Mathews of Brokfield, to the Millwights trade; by him my education was as much neglected, as by Capt Sadler, except that he did not deny me the use of a Light for Study in the winter evenings —

I turned my attention chiefly to Arethmatic, Geography, and history; had I ben as much engaged in Learning to write well, with Spelling, and Gramer, I might have ben much better qualified to fulfill the duties of the Succeeding Scenes of Life, which In providence I have ben called to paſs through. I was zealous to obtain knowledge, but having no guide I

lawfully required — and pay & deliver such and so much of said estate as shall be remaining upon your account (the same being first examined and allowed by the Judge of Probate for the time being) unto the said minor when he shall arrive at full age, or otherwise as said Judge, by his decree or sentence, pursuant to law shall limit and appoint — and also to take care of the person of said minor

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and the seal of said Court of Probate — Dated at Worcester the 12th day of April, A. D. 1752, & in the 25th year of his Majestys Reign —

JOSEPH WILDER —

By order of the Hon. Judge J. CHANDLER. Regr. —

knew not where to begin nor what course to pursue, — hence neglecting Spelling and gramer when young I have Suffered much through life on that account

March 15th 1757. The war between England and France which commeced in 1754 Still continuing I engaged in the provential Service, to Serve to the 2d day of February following. I was attached to Capt Ebenr Learneds Company of 100 men. —

April 30, we marched from Brookfield and reached Kenderhook, about 18 mile below Albany, on the 6th of May.

dureing our Stay at Kenderhook, Capt Learned prayed with his Company Morning and evening, and on the Sabath read a Sermon. (Oh! how the times have changed.) —

May 18th the Company left Kenderhook, and arrived the Same day at Green buſh, oppoſet the City of Albany. —

May–21st our Company reached Scocook, a Dutch Settlement on Hooſuck river, three mile from the Hudſon, deſerted by the inhabitents on account of the War. —

June 9th the Company joined Colo Fry[1] at Stillwater, and on the 11th Marched to Saratoga (a place Sence famous in history for the capture of a British army under the Command of Genl Burgoyn in 1777.) —

June 14th Colo Fryes Regiment, consisting of Seventeen companys, Left Saratoga, and on the 15th arrived at Fort Edward — —

July 8th being a Volunteer in the Ranging Servis, I was detached on a Scout for Six days under Lt Col-

[1] Joseph Frye, Colonel of a Massachusetts Regiment of Foot.

lings with 22 men. we marched on the rout towards South bay about 10 mile, and encamped —
July 9th after marching about 10 mile further, he then Sent three of us forward to go to the bay & bring him an account of the distence to it, that we might go the Lighter we Left our Blankets and provision with the Scout, but the distence was much further then was expected, and we were not able to return untill neer Sunsett, to the place where we left the party, they were gon, and carried off our Blakets and proviſions. the officer had taken fright, and run away ſupposing we ware killed or taken. — we attempted to track them but to no purpos, believeing they could not be farr off we fiered a gun but recived no anſwer — our Sittuation was by no means agreable, having nothing to cover us from the Natts & Musketoes (with which that country abounds beyond description) but a Shirt and Breech Clout.
July 10th we fiered guns but to no purpos, and Spent the fore-noon in Search of there trale but in vain,
July 11th we returnend to Fort Edward having ben Forty eight hours without any thïng to eate, and Spent two nights in company with the Natts and Musketoes.
July 12th Collins came in with the rest of the party they confeſsed they heard our evening gun, but Supposed the Indians had gotten us and were after them, in conſequence of which they took there way to Fort William Henry, and there reported that we were either killed or taken. Mr Collins character undoubtedly Suffered, but he eaſily paſsafied us and we did not complain — however when an officer is brought to Solicit his Soldiers not to complain of him, he must feal Small in his own eyes, as well as Contemptable in the eyes of others. it was undoubtedly extreamly

unſoldier like to leave us in the woods in the maner he did — if our Long absence gave cauſe of alarm, he ought to have with drawn but a Small distence, and placed himsef in ambush and to have posted two men under cover to watch our return, or the approach of the enemy had any appeared. —

July 23d about 8 oclock in the morning a large party of Indians fired on the guard of the Carpenters, within half a mile of the Fort we had 13 killed and one miſsing —

This was the first Sight I had of the Indians Butchering, and it was not very agreable to the fealings of a young Soldier, and I think there are few if any who can view Such Scenes with indifference — — —

the Enemy Left none of there dead or wounded behind — in the afternoon about 250 men under the command of Capt Israel Putnam[1] marched in pursute. we marched on the Indian trale untill Sun Set Capt Putnam then ordered three of us to follow the trale a mile or more further, and there lie close untill quite dark, to observe if any came back, for Said he "if they do not embark in there boats to night they will Send a party back to See if they are purſued" we went acording to ordor but made no discovery. and here I would remark that Capt Putnams precaution Struck my mind very forceally, as a maxim allways to be observed whether you are purſuing or are purſued by an enemy: eſpecially in the woods. it was the first Idea of Generalship, I recollect to have treaſured up.

August 3d, this morning a french army, Said to be about 15000, besides a large body of Indians from Cannada, Lade Seage to Fort William Henry, the

[1] Major-General Israel Putnam, of Revolutionary fame. His father and Rufus Putnam's grandfather were half-brothers.

Seage continued untill the 9th when the Gariſon capitulated.

Fort William Henry Stood on the margen of Lake George neer the Southwest corner 13¾ miles from Fort Edward and about 70 mile from Abany. it was a reguler Square with four Baſtions, the walls consisted of timber and earth, with ditch &c capable for a time of resisting a cannonade & bombardment, the Garison conſisted of between three and four hundred, British regulers, abut half a mile east of the Fort, Sepperated from it by a Swamp and Creek, was about 1500 proventials encamped within a low brest work of Logs. on theſe the French made no Serious attack, and they might at any time have forced there way throug the enemy, posted in that quarter, but the next morning, viz the 10th of August, as the proventials were paraded to march to Fort Edward agreably to cappitulation, the Indians fell on them, and amost horrid butchery enſued, those who eſcaped with there Lives were Striped almost naked. many in makeing there eſcape were lost in the woods where they wondered Several days without food, one man in perticuler was out ten days, and there is reaſon to believe Some perrished, in perticuler the wounded, but the number murdered & miſsing was never known to me——

General Webb Lay all the time of the Seage at Fort Edward with not Leſs then four thousand men, acording to my Judgment, and for a conſiderable part of the time with a Larger number by the coming up of the Militia of New York. General Webb was informed every day of the Seage, by an expreſs, from Colo Munroe, of the afairs at the Lake. he knew the French had attempted northing on the provential Camp. it was the opinion of many oficers that he

might have releaved the Fort, and that he was much to blame for not attempting it, the general idea among us Soldiers was that he was a coward, nor did he expreſs more humanity then courage, for he took no care to bury the men butchered in the maner above mentioned, or to Seek after the wounded ſhould there be any Lying among the dead, — I was on the ground a ſhort time after, and Saw the dead bodies Lying as neglected as if they had ben wild bests. =

The proventials lost all confidence in General Webb, and many of them deserted. I was at one time on the point of deſerting but was proidentially prevented. —

October 8th the provential Rangeing companys were discharged, and I did Camp duty untill the 21st when I joined a Company of Carpenters untill the 10th of November when the Fort being finished the Carpenters ware all dischaed from the public works —

Fort Edward Stood on the Easterly bank of the Hudson or North River about 66 mile above Albany. the river washed one Side of its wall. its form was Somewhat ireguler: having two Bastions and two half Baſtions the walls were high & thick composed of hewed timber & earth a broad rampert, with Casement or Bomp proff, a deep ditch with a draw bridg, a covered Way, Glaſsee &c.

I have ben perticuler in this deſcription, because in 1777, there was by no means ſo great an apperence of there having ben a Fortification there as we find in the antient works at Marietta & other parts of the Ohio Country —

November 10th the remnent of Colo Frys Regiment (himſelf & most of his regiment having be made

priſoners at Fort William Henry) marched down to the half moon, 12 mile above Albany.

November 18th 360 of us were drafted into four Companys and ordored to different posts for winter quarters. this was a greate & unexpected disappointment; for althoe our inlistments run to the 2d of February we expected to be discharge on the cloſe of the Campaign. — Capt Learneds Company was ordored up to Still water. But I with Several others engaged in the Kings works at Halfmoon, and I did not join my Company untill the 29th of December —

January 1st 1758. we keept the day with joy and wiſhed for Chandlemaſs, being jealous there was a deſign to hold us in the Servis longer then our engagement; and being ditermined to git away if poſsible. and knowing that if we attempted it by the common road through Albany we Should probably be ſtoped by the Reguler troops in that quarter —. our plan was to march by the way of Hooſuck; and the Snow being now deep and daly increasing, the month of January was imployed in prepareing Snow Shoes for the jooney. We Lay in Hutts a Small distence from a Stockade Fort gariſoned by one Company of Regulers Commanded by Capt Skean (afterwards Major Skean proprietor of Skeansbourgh South Bay)

Capt Learned who had ben home on Furloe joined his Company on the 5th of January, approved of our plan of going off on the 3d of February, and pledge himſelf to head us in the retreat unleſs he could obtain our discharge I then thought much of him but I have Sence Learned to dispise him, for an officer to Deſert is unpardonable.

February 2d we were all ordored into the Fort and Captain Skean read to us part of a letter he had re-

ceved from General Abecromby the purport of which was "you are hereby required to perſuade the Maſsachusetts men under your command to tarry a few days longer untill I Shall hear from there Goverment, and know what there Goverment intend to do with them" to this it was anſwered he is a good Soldier that Serves his time out, and that the provence had northing to do with us, nither would we tarry any Longer. we were then threatened with death if we went off without a reguler discharge; and then ordered to our Hutts. —

If Capt Skean had ben in earnest withe reſpect to detaining of us, it is hard to account for his takeing no forceable meaſures when we were paraded in the Fort. nor was there any Search made for our Snow Shoes. it is true our Hutts were under a high bank out of Sight of the Fort. and we keept our Snow Shoes concealed under the Snow, and poſsibly he knew northing of them, and concluded our rout would be down by Albany.

February 3^{d} about three °Clock in the morning we marched off as Silently as poſsibel, under the conduct of Cap^{t} Learned and L^{t} Walker. being 70 in number, leaving a L^{t} Brown who did not chues to be of our party, and a few invaleds behind. —

we had an intervel & the Hudſon for about half a mile to croſs, exposed to the cannon of the Fort had they discovered our retreat and ben disposed to fire on us. this made it neceſsary to retreat in the night. as to any troubl from the Garison in any other reſpect there was no danger beause there Number was not equel to ours — —

We had no provisions but what we had pinched out of our daly alwence, which was very Short, — we might, prehaps, on an average have between two &

three days alowence. it was called 30 mile to Hooſuck Fort, a Stockade Fort on Hooſuck river, belonging to Maſsachuſeſs. our calculation was to reach this place in two days —

on the first days march we meet with northing extreordinary except that the Snow was deeper then expected, the foremost man Sunk half leg deep in the Snow, & the tenth man had a good path —

February 4th 2d days March, this was a very Snowey, Stormy day, and in paſsing Some deſerted Settlement we left the river Some conſiderable distence on the right. after paſsing thoſe Settlements we bore away for the Hooſuck river, but unfortunately miſstook a Western branch of it for the main river. the river was the only guide we depended on to find Fort Hoosuck, and not Suspecting we had miſsed our way we pushed forward in hopes of arriving at the Fort that night. but were disappointed. Capt Learned killed two turkes in the course of the day —

February 5th 3d ays march. Started very early confident of being at the Fort before noon, however noon and night came, but no Fort (killed one Turky. pitched camp with heavy harts jealous we had miſsed our way, proviſions neerly exhausted, wether exceeding cold and Stormy. Several men fooze there feet, one man fell in the river, and lost one of his Snow Shoes, by which he ſuffered much

February 6th 4th days march. continuing up this Stream untill noon. came to a conſiderable Fork which left little doubt that we had miſsed our way, however, for further Satisfaction we went up one of the branches Some distence untill it became So Small as to remove all doubt, and then returned back to the Fork mentioned above. Capt Learned then addreſsed the Company in Substence as follows "It

" evidently appears that we are on a wrong Stream " and we must be at Lest 30 mile North of Hooſuck " Fort. but dont be discourged, for my life on it if the " men hold out to travel four or five days if I dont " bring you to See the inhabitents of New England, " however if any man has a mind to turn back to " Stillwater he may go in welcom ; for my part I will " Sooner die in the woods " we all agreed to follow him ; and Leaveing this river (on which is now the Town of Benington in the State of Vermont) we Steared a Southeast course Climing Several Steep hills ; and about Sun Sett arrived on the top of a mountain which appeared to be the Highth of Land. the wether extremely cold, and the Snow five feet deep —

February 7th — 5th days march —

Thirty of us made a breakfast this morning on a Little poor Turky — without Salt or bread. — Traveling Southeast, in about 5 mile, we fell on a very Small Stream iſsuing from the Mountn and runing Southeast, following down this Streme which being joined by Several others, by night increased to a conſiderable river. we had northing to eat Sence morning, but Beech buds and a few high Cramberries, night found us verry faint, and feteagued, after all our courage held out, and our hopes brightened from the courſe, and increse of the Stream we had fallen on — — —

February 8th the 6th days March

The river winds through a broken hilly country and the general course not favourable according to our opinion, the wether very could, and Stormy the traveling in general very bad all day, the men So feable, or Lame with Frozen feet, that but few of them were able to break track. So that we began to be

fearfull that we Should not reach any Settlement for Some days, and had we not had Some releaf by traveling apart of the way on the river it is highly probable Some of them wuld have perished — we had one, and but one, Dog along with us; he was large and very fat, and this evening he fell a Sacrefise to our neceſsities. our custom on this march was to encamp ten men at a fire; the Dog was cearfully Butchered and divided into Seven parts, except the Guts which the Butcher had for his fees, theſe he brought to our Fire, and ten of us made a very good Supper of there fat with out bread or Salt.

February 9th the 7th days march

In the morning ten of us breakfasted on one of the Dogs hind feet and Leg cut of at the gambrell. which being roasted in the ashes, and pounded ſo as to Seperate the bones of the foot &c. was very pallitable — we had very good traveling to day chiefly on the river the Snow not deep, and about noon we Saw where Some trees had ben cut for Shingles, the Sight of which revived our drooping Spirits, as we judged from this circumſtance, Som Settlement could not be very far distent — about Sunſetting we came to the mouth of a Small Stream on our Left, which one of the Corporals Said he knew to be Pellham brook, and that we were not more then three mile from Hawks Fort, on Deerefield River, which emties into Connectiutt river at Deerfield —

on this information the Capt cunducted with great prudence, for not more then a dozen or fifteen of us were yet come up, and althoe we might have gon in with Safety yet it must probably have ben the Loſs of Some that were fallen in the rere on account of there feableneſs, and Frosted feet. The Captain therefore ordored the Corporal & two others to go on to

the Fort, and make provison for our arrivel in the morning; and the rest to build fiers for the night. fortunately all the men came up by daylight —

this night the ten men at our fire made a kittle of Soup for Supper of the thigh bone of the Dog and portion of a back bone of Pork, Seasoned with ginger which relished exceeding well —

With reſpect to the meate of a Dog I have ever Sence I had the experience, believed it to be very good eating, and that I could at any time eat it without disgust —

February 10th the 8th days march

Some people from the Fort meet us on our march with bread and meet Slised up and gave to each man a peace of each. this was well timed not only as a frindly act in giving us as early releaf as poſsible, but Served to check that rage of appetite by which many have injured themſelves by a full meal after long Starvation we arrived at Hawks Fort about ten oClock, where we were kindly entertained —

as before observed many of the men were badly Frosted in the feet, early on the march, and Some before we Set out, one in perticuler, Ichabod Dexter, who was one of my Meſsmats, and whoſe Pack I brought with my own through the whole march; and yet I was among the foremost in the march, and althoe hungery yet never failed in vigor and activity, and this I have always thought was oweing in a meaſure to the following circumſtance, we had in my Meſs perhaps a pound of honney in a Wooden bottle and after our provisions failed we diped the end of a rod (not into a honney comb like Jonathan) but into the honey bottle and put it to our mouth —

February 15th I arrived at my old Masters at Brookfield —

I had enjoyed my health in a remarcable maner and in Some inſtences ben wonderfully preſerved, but I do not recollect that I made any acknowledgment to my benefactor & preſerver —

Cap^{t} Learned was much (and I concive justly blamed) for bringing off his Company in the maner he did, nor was he ever able afterward to obtain a Commiſsion during that war. —

In the revolutionary war he entered as a Colonel, in 1776 reſigned, in 1777 was made a Brigadier & reſigned Soon after the capture of Burgoyn. I never doubted his courage but otherwise he never displayed the Soldier or General

1758 April 10th Notwithſtanding my late Sufferings in my return home, I engaged for another Campaign in the provential Servis, in Cap^{t} Joſeph Whitcombs Company, and Col^{o} Ruggels[1] Regiment. —

the regiment randevozed at Northhampton. our Company arrived there the 27th of May —

June 3^{d} the Regiment marched for Albany

June 6th paſsed Pantooſuck Fort, on Houſatonnic river (a Small Stockade with a few provential Soldiers)

June 8th arrived at Greenbuſh, oppoſit to Albany. From Northhamton Street to this place was through a wilderneſs but one houſe in whole disence, except the little fort above mentioned.

June 12th I was with the other Carpenters of Col^{o} Ruggels Regiment (about 80 in number) detached and Sent forward under the Command of L^{t} Pool. we arrived at Lake George the 22^{d} and were imployed in various works there untill the army were ready to embark —

July 5th· the Army embarked this morning, in

[1] Timothy Ruggles.

Bateaux, conſisting of about 17000 men, under the command of General Abbecromby, Commander in cheif, Lord How the Second in comande, Gen[l] Gage the Third, and Col[o] Bradſtree Q[r]Master general —

General Abbecromby was an old man and frequently called, Granne —

Lord How was the Idol of the Army, in him they placed the utmost confidence, from the few days I had to obſerve his maner of conducting, it is not extravagent to Supose that every Soldier in the army had a preſonal attachment to him. he frequently came among the Carpenters, and his maner was So eaſy and fermiller, that you loost all that conſtraint or diffidence we feele when adreſsed by our Superiours, whose maners are forbiding.

General Gage was a man who never acquired a high reputation, and the furious Bradſtreet was hated by all the Army — —

The Army moved down the Lake untill evening when the boats put a ſhore at Sabeth day point, and after refreſhing, put off & rowed all night.

July 6[th] the army Landed at the Lower end of Lake George, on both Sides of the out let, on our aproach, a detachment of Frence posted on the right or east of the out let retiered without making any oppoſition — however as Soon as apart of the army began to advance into the woods on the west Side of the outlet, they were met by a perty of the enemy, and a Scirmish ensued in which Lord How was killed. his death ſtruck a great damp on the army. for my own part I was So pannic ſtruck that I was willing to remain with the boat guard, which in the Morning I Should have ben very unwilling to have ben detailed for. however I Soon recovered, at lest in a meaſure, ſo that I volunteared my Self to join the regiment

July 8th I found the regiment posted on the west of the Mills, with Colo Lymans of Connécticutt, imployed in erecting a Brestwork. —

The action at the French brestwork began about twelve o Clock, and there was a conſtant peele of Cannon and Musquetry for Several hours

Late in the after[noon] there was a party called for to carry ammunition forward to the army, then in action, and feeling a little concerned lest my character might Suffer for having willingly remained with the bot guard, I volunteered my Self on this Service (I have heard that Some men Should Say they Loved to fight as well as to eat, I never had any Such feelings, So far as I am able to judge of my Self it was pride and a wish to excell, or at lest to come behind none which influenced me at that period of life, to be among the foremost on all ocations that offered) when we came to the Army we found they had ben repulced at the brest work in an attempt to Storm the enimies Lines, but I had not the lest Idea of a total defeate —

our regiment remained in there brest work untill about midnight and then marched back to the Shore of Lake George where we landed on the morning of the 6th

July 9th as Soon as Light appeared we discovered that our regiment was the reer of the army who had all retreated in the night, except the Rangers and one Regiment of proventials, left neer the French lines.

about 9 oClock the army were all embarked, and returned back to the South end of Lake George, and thus ended Abbecrombys expidition with disgrace, and the Loſs of 1500 men killed, and wounded —

at that time I was uninformed of the Situation of

the works or of the mode of attack, and had I ben informed of all this, considering my youth, and inexperence it would have ben arrogance to have given an opinion. however afterwards viewing the works and being informed of the mode of attact, I have judged it the most injuditious and wanton Sacrefise of men that ever came within my knowledge, or reeding —

Northing more of conſequence was attempted in this quarter this Season, except the army commenced building a Fort at this place on the ground occupied by the proventials in 1757 during the Seage of Fort William Henry, which they called Fort George —

July 22^{d} Col^{o} Ruggles with his regiment marched to Fort Edward, and were imployed in repairing the roads from thence to Albany untill the 29th of October when they were discharged.

November 9th arrived at Sutton, my native Town, where I made it my home for Some time Thus was I carried through a Second Campaign enjoying uninterrupted health, the Frindſhip of my officers, and never charged with any crime. But alaſs in my journal I cannot find any acknowledgment to my Divine benefactor & preſerver. nor do I recollect that I had any Serious reflection on the ſubject.

April 2^{d} 1759[1] I this day egaged in the proven-

[1] [Copy]

SUTTON, April 2, 1759

Received of Mr. Moses Leland, Fourteen Pounds, thirteen shillings, Lawful Money, for which I have enlisted in the Province service, in the intended expedition, in behalf of said Leland — And I promise to appear on monday the 9th day of April current, before Col^{o} Chandler, at Major Dan^{l} Howards at Worcester, to pass muster for said Leland, in Capt. John Sibley's Company — or I promise to pay said Leland back said money, at his demand, together with his damage he may sustain on my neglect.

Witness RUFUS PUTNAM

JOHN SIBLEY —

tial Service for the third campaign. I was finally attached to Cap^{t} William Pages Company of Hardwick, and in the first Battallion of Rugels Regiment commanded by L^{t} Col^{o} Joſeph Ingersol. —

I did orderly Sarjents duty untill the 26th of July I find northing in my journal worth notising untill —

July 21st this morning the army embarked from the South end of Lake George and moved down the Lake, General Amherst Commander in Cheif, in whose ordors for embarking appeared So much tenderneſs, and humanity as must win the hart of every Soldier, who had any generous fealings.

July 22^{d} the Army Landed this morning at the outlet of the Lake without oppoſition —

July 23 the army took poſſeſsion of the brestwork where they were defeated last year, with very little oppoſition. and now from viewing with my own eyes, I was convinced of the impropper mode of attact made on it the Last year, and that thoſe men who were Sacrefised fell through the want of judgment in the General, or the raſhneſs of Col^{o} Bradſtreat.

July 24 Commenced opening our trenches against the Fort, Ticonderoage — 26th the platforms were Lade in the evening, & our Batteries were to open the next morning. the enemy had keept up a heavy cannonade Sence the 23^{d} — on the morning of the 27th at about three oClock, having very Silently embarked in boates they Blew up the Fort and pushed down the Lake to Crown point, where they did not wait our coming, but went almost imediately down Lake Champlain: — there conduct was accounted for on the Supposition of there having heard that General Wolf was approaching Quebeck, and therefore they could not hope for any releaf —

July 26 Capt Aaron Willard, a man who knew

northing of the buſineſs, undertook to build a Saw-mill on the lower falls of the outlet of Lake George where it falls into an arm, or bay about two mile from the begining of the outlet. —

I was at first invited to undertake as Master workman under Willard, but I wholly declined. I wanted to go forward with the army, indeed no arguments prevailed with me untill the Brigadier Sent an officer to tell me if I wuld not undertake, or go to work I Should go to the guard house. the Brigadier knew me very well, and I had known him for many years, and I k[n]ew it was in vain to contend, nor did I Like to offend an officer whome I So highly reſpected, and therefore Submitted, hoever I always eſteamed it an arbitary act, and by nomeans justifiable to compell a Soldier who is a mechanic to work at his trade against his will. —

When the Mills were compleated and going well (with two Saws) I was in hopes of being permitted to joine my regiment, and with that view I obtained a paſs to go to Crownpoint where the regiment lay (with the Army). while I was there I went to See one of the block houſes that was building, I obſerved the Carpenter was ignorent of the right methord of Dovetaleing the Corners. I offered to Showe him and while I was inſtructing the man, it So happened that Major Skean (overſeer of the works) came up, and obſerving what I was about, asked me who I was, and upon my informing him, he proposed engageing me in the works carrying on at Crown point, and he obtained permiſsion from General Amharst for that purpus. I was much pleased with my change of Situation, if the army moved forward against cannada I Should doubtleſs go with my regiment, but this was not all, Major Skean had taken Such perſonal notice

of me, and given Such aſsurences of my being rewarded according to my merit as a Carpenter that I felt confident of reciving wages according to the Service I Should render — how much then was I disapointed, when in a few days the Engineer at Ticondaroga came up and made Such repreſentations to General Amherst, that I was ordored back to the Mills this was much against my fealings, as well as intrest. Major Skean told the engineer he ought to alow me a dollar per day, that he Should alow me that if I remained with him — while Capt Willard remained the overſeer, (from former experence) I had very little reason to expect any more then the common hands, but Willard was now gon and no commiſioned officer having any concern with the Mills, and after what had taken place at Crowpoint, above mentioned I had good reaſon to expect an extra alowence —

the proventials this year were discharged Some weeks before the term of there inlistments expired, at this time Colo Robertson, the Quarter Master General came to the Mills with the Engenear, and I engaged with him to tarry an indefinate time, at one dollar per day and he directed the Enginear to pay me accordingly: but I was not ſo prudent as the Indian, Captain Jacobs, in another caſe, to request the General to put his promis on paper: wherefore when I applied to the Engineer the last of November for a ſettlement he alowed me but for three days at a Doller per day, aledging that I had Served, but three days over my inlistment, althoe my regiment had ben discharged Some weeks before —

thus was I cheated, not only, out of an extra alowence which I had good reaſon to expect after returning back from Crown point, but of the contract made

by Col° Robbinson & which the Engineer was directed to discharge. I began to work the 26th of July I had laboured hard, I had built excellant Mills, my merit as a workman was confeſsed by all who Saw them, and the necessity of my remaining there to overſee the Sawyears, and keep the mills in ordor was proved by my being brought back from Crown-point, but the Engineer turned me off with the Common alowence viz. fifteen pence per day, New-york currency. —

December 1st I embarked with Col° Miller, Capt Fute, and others, being eleven in Number, in two Batteaux in ordor to croſs Lake George. — Col° Miller had two Horſes and a Curricle, and for the greater Safety we Laſhed the Boats togather

the wether being pleasent, and having the prospect of a quick paſsage we took but little provision with us, expecting to reach Fort George early next day, having a Small Breaze of wind in our favor, but in the evening the wind died away and we came too under a Small Island lying neer the main Land, about four mile North of Sabath day point, in the night the wind came ahead blowd hard, and the wether growd very cold —

December 2d. in the morning with Some difficulty we brought the boats to the main Land and took the Horſs on Shore, the wind blowing a Gale all day, the waves runing mountains high, there was no poſ-sibility of moveing any way, and it was never colder Sence my remembrence. —

December 3d proviſions all gon, the wind ſom what abated but Still So high as to rendered it impoſsible to turn the point. the cold continuing and hunger increasing, our Sittuation began to grow Somwhat diſtreſsing, but providence provided for us. in ram-

bling over the point, one of the party accidentelly came upon an old black provision bag, in which we found about a dozen pound of excellent Salt pork. this with Some damaged flour, brought by Col° Miler to feed his horſes, made into dumplins and boiled with the pork Served us very well for that day —

December 4th this morning was cold but very calm, and the Surface of the Lake Smoath. but we had Some difficulties yet to incounter one of the Battoes belonged to Some Dutch Sutlers, which proved very Leaky, there was at lest Six inches of Solled ice in the bottom, which in our Sittuation it was impoſsible to remove. It was therefore concluded to take both Col° Millers horſes with his Curricle on board his own boat: and for two men with the three Dutchmen to take on there own boat. but we had not proceeded many miles in this way before the Dutch boat fell aſtern and put aſhore and the two men left her, chuſeing rather to take the woods then row the Lazy Dutchmen.

The Dutchmen then called on us for help, and we Lay toe untill they came up, and Col° Millers humanity was Such that he took them on board his boat with there Chests and bagage. — hunger and cold, now was not our greatest concern: we were Loaded down within two, or three inches of the top of the Sides of the boat, we were just opening the Northwest bay, we had yet twenty mile to Fort George, and a very little wind, only to have given a Small aggitation to the water, we must in all probability have perished, but providence So ordored it that it was a perfect calm the whole day, and we arrived at Fort George a little after Sun Set without any accident —

I arrived home to Brookfield the 16th of December having enjoyed a good State of health the whole Cam-

paign — for which I find no acknowledgment in my journal. Oh Shame

after my return home as above, I made up my mind not to engage any more in the Military Service. I had Several times ben disappointed of the rewards promised for extra Service; I got northing for the rangeing Service in 1757 nor for my Servis among the Carpinters in Several inſtences. I was much disgusted at being compeled to leve my regiment, and go to work at the Mills at the moment when I was ambitious of, and Supposed I had a fair prospect of diſtingeshing my Self as a Soldier. its true the army did not proceed that year any further then Crwnpont, and no general action took place in that quarter yet there was another point of view in which the forceing of me from my regiment gave me much uneasineſs. I was not only pleased with the duty of orderly Serjeant, as conſidered in it Self, but as it is his duty, every day to bring his men for guard onto parade, and attending there untill the Guard is formed, and inſpected (by the officer of the day,) it is a good School for improvment; and besides, by the Clean and Soldierly apperence of the men; in there cloathes, and Arms &c will never fail to recommend the Serjieant to the notice of his Superiour officers —

beſides I had rendered that Service to the goverment which had I not ben a Soldier the Quatermaster Gen[l] had acknowledged was worth a Doller per day, only for attending to the Sawyers, and I was Turned off with only Seventeen Cents. on the whole I came to a ditermnation never to engage again as a Solder, nor did I ſuppose there was any prospect of being invited to engage in a higher capaſity.

under theſe circumſtances, and it not being a Season for the Millwrits buſineſs, I took boarding in the Town

of New Brantree and went to work on Some land which I had purchased in that town where I Spent the winter —

March 1760. ordors were issued by goverment for raiſing prvential troops for another Campaign, and as before observed I was now reſiding in New-Brantree, and therefore attended the first training called for raising recruits, and enroled my Self in the Militia Company of that Town. Capt Page of Hardweek at whose request the Company had ben called togather, Soon appeared, and presented me with recruting ordors, Sent by Brigadier Ruggles, and proposed I Should join him in raiſing a Company. as an appointment in the army had ben unſolicited by me, the ordors were wholly unexpected I at first declined accepting them, for which I had Several reaſons. the disgust I felt for my treatment the last Campaign had not wholly worn off, I had formed my Plan to remain at home, and beſides I found there had ben application made in behalf of Some older Settlers in town then I was whome the Brigadier refused, and Some of theſe appeared very angry, and complained that the Town was inſulted by my appointment, therefore I had very Little reaſon to expect much ſucceſs in recruiting among them. however after Cap^{t} Page had Beat round Several times without any ſucceſs on the Sollicitation of a number of old Soldiers of my acquaintence I took the ordors, and eight or nine inlisted immediately. Thus I was once more ſetting out for the army. I was much more ſucceſsfull in recruiting then I expected, but I was guilty of a great mistake, for I Sufered my men to be Mustered for Capt Pages Company, and as he had recrited but few men him Self we fell Short of the quoto we expected, and thus by my own folly in mustering my men for his Company

I lost them, much to there diappointment and my own. Cap^{t} Page of all his Fathers Children Loved himſelf the best. he returned all the men for him Self, and I was left to go a beging. I now hartily repented of undertaking to recuit, and I cannot tell whether I was more angry or mortified. Brigadier Ruggls was at Boston, Col^{o} Willard [1] was placed at Worcester to arrange the officers to the Several Companys. he was a total Stranger to me and I had no frind to introduce me, and I was too Willfull or too baſhfull to introduce my Self. all the conſolation I had (if that was any) was the company of a number of others in Like circumſtances. however after remaining in a State of Suspence about three weeks, Col^{o} Willard preſented me with an Enſigns Commiſsion in his own Regiment. I had expected a Lieutency I had recrited men enough to warrent it had I not ben duped by Captain Page, in agreeing to muster my men for his Company, but it was too Late now to refuse an Ensign, and I was really obliged to Col^{o} Willard for the appointment

From the circumſtances I have related let all but eſpecially those unexprienced youth Such as I was, be cautioned how far they trust the frindship of those whose intrest it may be to dupe them. —

Cap^{t} Thomas Beman, to whose Company I was now appointed, had marched Some days before my appointment, and I was ordored to continue on the recruiting Service — but I had very little Succeſ as might well be expected ater what had before taken place reſpecting the men I had inlisted

June 2^{d} I Set out for the army having inlisted but three men, one of which I was permited to take for a waiter, & the other were turned over to a different regiment —

[1] Abijah Willard.

June 18th I joined my Company at Ticondaroge. here I found four companies Stationed, for this place the Sawmill, and the Landing at the outlet of Lake georg. —

June 22d Captain Bemans Company Marched to the Landing above mentioned where we were Stationed untill the end of the Campaign, and thus were deprived of the honour, and of Shearing the feteague of twelve days Seage at the Isle de nanx,[1] — which opened the way for the junction of the three British armies before Montreal which Surrendered the 8th of September without oppoſiton, and thus was the conquest of Cannada Compleated Soon after our Company was Stationed at the Landing, I was invited by the Enginea at Ticonderoge (not the one who abuſed me the Last year as before related) to take the ovesight of the Mills, and alſo the erection of a Blockhouse where our company was Stationed. I agreed with him for at a Stipulated price per day which was honorably paid at the close of the Campaign —

November 19th the Company marched to Ticonderoge and were discharged. —

November 20 croſsed the Lake and began our march through the Wilderneſs for N° 4,[2] on Connecticutt River. at about 40 mile croſsed Otter Creek —

November 25th arrived at N° 4 being 80 mile as computed from Ticonderoge —

December 1st arrived home to New Brantree, having injoyed a good State of health during my abſence. — my oficers eſpecially the Captain and First Lieutenent, were very agreable companions and we lived in the greatest harmony.

Before I left Camp Major Skean very wormly Soli-

[1] Isle-aux-Noix. [2] Fort Number Four.

cited me to engage in his Service in erecting mills at Skeans borough (head of Southbay) and as a further inducment for my undertakeing Brigadier Ruggles aſured me of a Lieutennants Commission in the army; the propoſals were Such as I could not have refused with propriety, had I not ben previously engaged in the purſuit of a different object. — I had not wholly omitted acknowledging my dependence this year

After my return from the army as above related I keept no conſtant reguler journal, and can therefore give only a general account, with Some more perticuler incidents of my life as they occured

1761 in March I comminced the Millwrite buſineſs which I purſued as my chief imployment for Seven or eight year, and after that untill the revolutionary war comminced in 1775 my buſineſ was pritty much confined to farming and Surveying & I alſo ſtudied Navagation

April 6th 1761 I was maried to Eliſabeth Ayres daughter of Wm Ayers Esquire of Brookfield —

May 14th I was taken Sick of the bilious fevor by which I was brought very low but it pleased god to ſpare my life and in about three months I recovered my health — —

November 16th it pleased god to remove my wife by death, leaveing me an infent Son to take care of. my fealings on that ocation may be eaſier concived then deſcribed. however if I did not decive my ſelf I bore this trial without murmering against the providence of God —

1762 September 29th God was pleased in his holy providence to remove my little Son (Ayres) by death. thus was I in Leſs then a year deprived of Mother and Child, and in them as I then thought of all earthly

comfort: but I hope I was in Some good meaſure inabled to aſscribe righteousneſs to my maker —

January 10th 1765 I was maried to Perſis Rice daughter of Mr Zebulon Rice of Westborough, who is through the goodneſs of God Still living, and for our Children &c I refer you to the family record — in our Quarto Bible [1]

In 1772 General Lyman returned from England, where he had ben Several years Soliciting the British Goverment, for a grant of Lands to the provential officers and Soldiers, who had Served in the late war against France. Soon after Lymans return a meeting of the adventurers was notified, which was held at Hartford in November the Same year.[2] to this meeting General Lyman gave information that an ordor had paſsed the King in Council, authorizing the govenor of Weſt Florida to grant Lands in that provence to the provenciels, in the Same propotions as had ben provided for his Mijesties reguler Troops —

Lyman brought no document on the Subject, but his report was So far relied on that the meeting Voted to explore the Lands, and for that purpos appointed a Conmitte of which I was one.

December 10th I left my home for the above purpos.

[1] Rufus Putnam died May 4, 1824. His second wife, Persis Rice, who was born in 1737, died September 6, 1820. Their children were: —

Elizabeth, b. 1765; d. unmarried, 1830.
Persis, b. 1767; m. Perly Howe; d. 1822.
Susanna, b. 1768; m. Christopher Burlingame; d. 1840.
Abigail, b. 1770; m. William Browning; d. 1805.
William Rufus, b. 1771; m. Jerusha Guitteau; d. 1855.
Franklin, b. 1774; d. 1776.
Edwin, b. 1776; m. Eliza Davis; d. 1843.
Martha, b. 1777; m Benjamin Tupper; d. 1842.
Catharine, b. 1780; m. Ebenezer Buckingham; d. 1808.

[2] For an account of this meeting see *The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter*, December 4, 1772.

[December] 11 arrived at Col° Israel Putnams, in Broolin[1] Connecticutt —

[December] 20 Col° Putnam & I arrived at new york, paſsing by water from Norwich —

1773 January 10th we Sailed from new york on board the Sloop Miſſiſipppi, provided by the aſsociats, called the Military Company of adventurers) we of the exploreing Committe were Col° Putnam, Capt Enos,[2] M^r Thaddeus Lyman, and my Self, with Daniel Putnam, a lad Son of the Col° & W^m Davis hired man. —

1773 January 30th we arrived at Cape Nichala Moles a porte in the North west part of Hispanolia Island, this port is an open bay exposed to the Northen winds. at bothom of the Bay is a Small Town of about half a mile Square, which covers all the flat ground to be Seen, Surrounded with high mountains. The Town was Said to contain 300 houses, but the Island in this quarter is So mountanious as to aford no plantations within nine Leagues —

From New york to this place I was extreamly Sea Sick the whole paſsage, not able to keep a journal

Februay 4th we left the Mole, and on the 8th arrived at Montego bay, a Small port on the North Side of Jamaica.

February 9th Left Montego Bay and Stood to the west.

[February] 11th Lattitude observed 19° 10′ N — course W ½ S —

[February] 12th about 11 Clock at night we narrowly eſcaped runing onto a bear, low Island called the Grand Commanders —

February 15th Saw Pine Island bearing North. —

17th paſsed Cape Corentas. —

[1] Brooklyn.

[2] Roger Enos, of Windsor, Connecticut.

[February] 18th doubled Cape Antonio (the west end of the Island of Cuba and then Steere N b W

[February] 21st Storm of wind & rain from the North Obliged us to lay too untill the 23d — 2· h· P M. —

February 24th at 8. h. P M a violent Squall of wind and rain obliged us to heve too again. the 25th the wether was extreamly cold, and when I returned home I found that day was called the cold Tuesday. we were not able to Lay our course again untill the 27th. at 4-h-A M on the 28th we got Soundings at 45 fathom, and a kind providence So ordored that as Soon as we were able to make the Land clearly, we Saw our port direct ahead, a circumſtance very extreordinary and by no means to be expected in the Bay of Mexeco, where the currents are ſo exceeding uncertain, and conſidering further that we had lain intierly at the mercy of the currents and winds for 5 days —

March 1st we entered the bay of Penſacola and came to an ankor before the Town and went on Shore in a boate, the water So Shoal that no veſsel of any conſiderable burden can approach neer the Shore —

govenor Chester, and his Council treated us in the most obliging maner: but alaſs no ordor for granting Lands to the proventials had arrived. this was a motifying circumſtance, however the poſsability of its yet arriving, with the propoſal made for granting Lands to the company, on terms within the power of the govenor and Council induced the Committe to reſolve on proceeding on the buſineſs of reconnoitering the country, on the Miſſippi and to make Such Surveys as we might think proper, and for this purpos I was commiſsioned Deputy Surveyor of the provence of West Florida. — In the Town of Penſacola there were prehaps 150 houſes, with a State house. the

A House of the Intendant

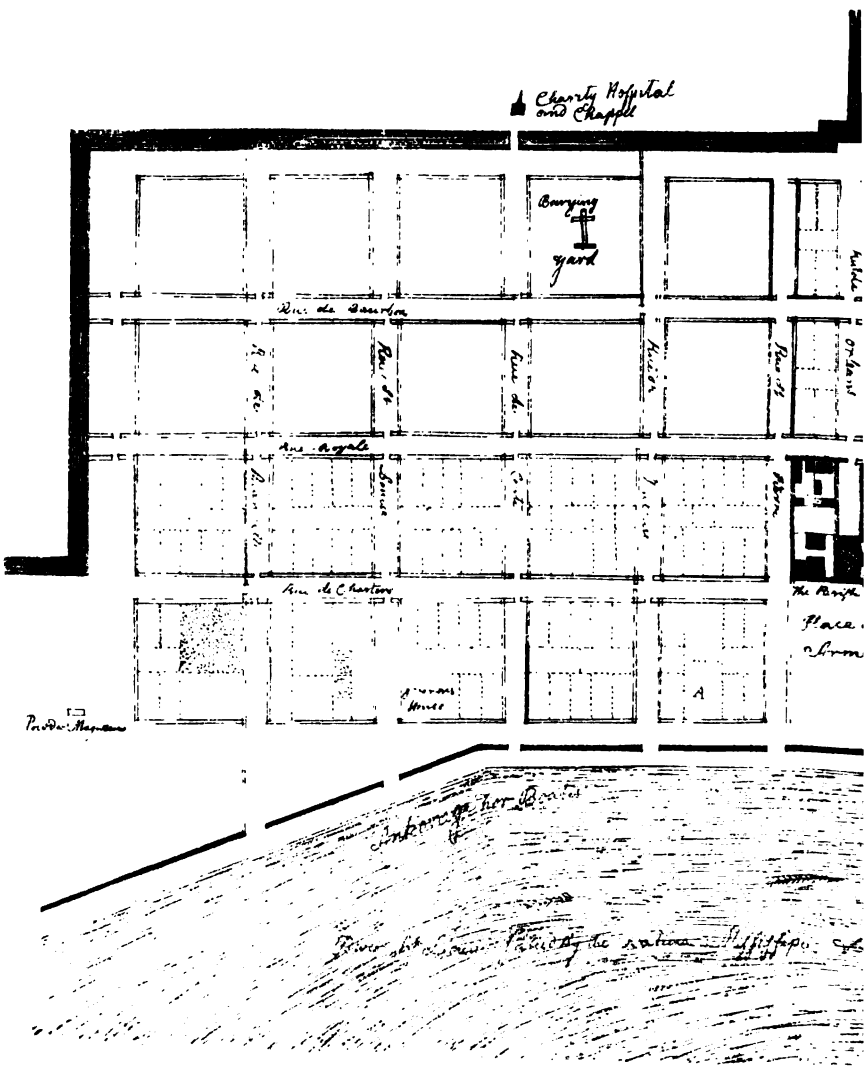
B Convent of the Capuchen Fryers

C The Jales

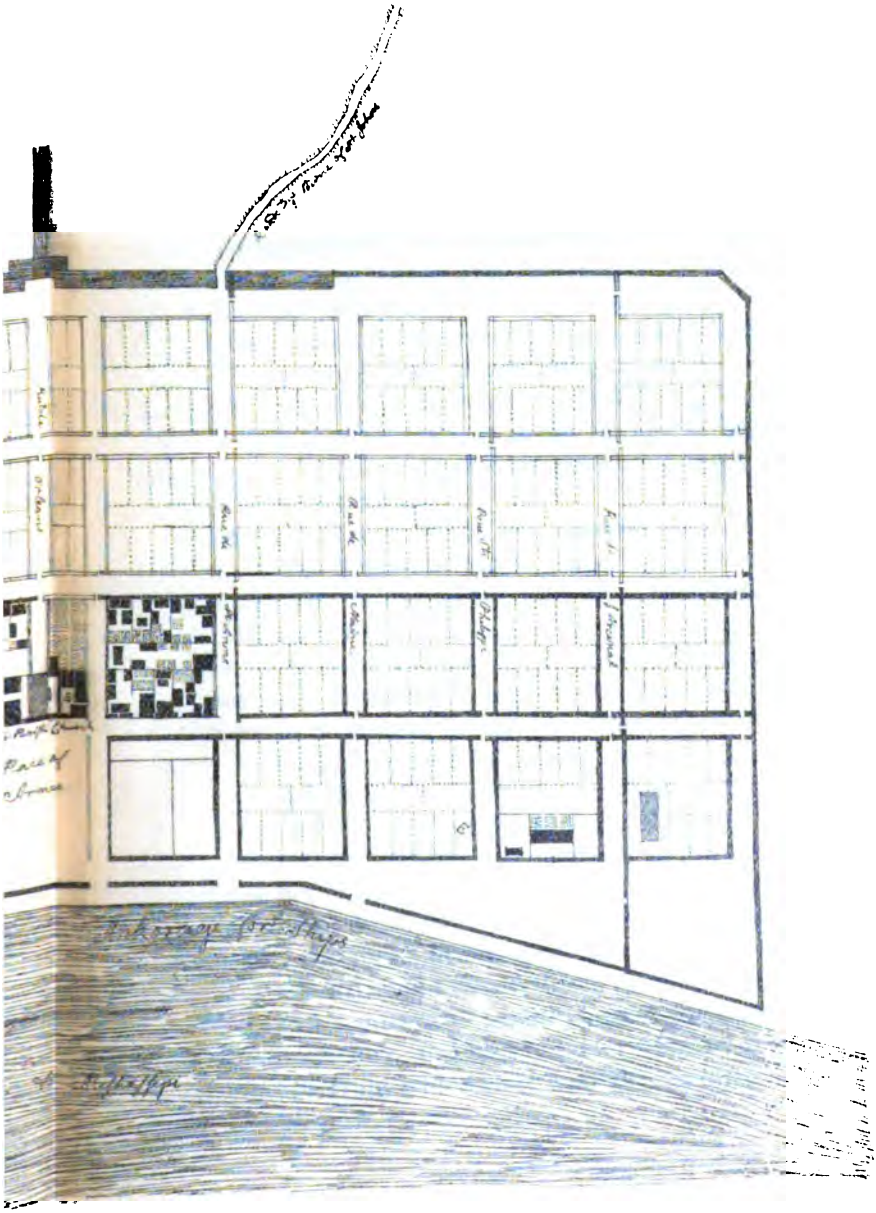
D guard Room

E Hospital and Convent of the Hospitals

The town of Neworleans



PLAN OF NEW



EW ORLEANS, 1773

apperance of the country, on viewing from the State house, is a pitch pine forest. however on reconnoitering a few Miles distence We found Some Scrubby oak, Walnut & Sarcafax. the Soil (if it can be called Soil) is a white Sand —

March 18th Left the Bay of Penſacola and Steer our courſe for the Miſſiſippe, & as we approached the mouth of that river found the freſh water (which was eaſily diſtinguished by its brown clay colour) floating on top of the Salt water, and haveing at a distence the apperence of a Sandy beech, we really for Some time took it to be ſuch, however being undecived we purſued our course into the floating fresh Water of the river, and at the distence of a full League from Land, were able to take up a full bucket of perfect fresh water, but Sinking the bucket about three feet brought up Salt water.

March 20th at 5 h P M. we ankered just off the mouth of the river, the block house on Mud Island bearing N. W. in the night came on a Strong North wind, which drove the Sloop from her ankerage, and obliged us to come to Sail. we were beating all night and the next day untill 5 h 30′ P M. when we came to Anker in 8 fathom water, the Ship chanel bearing N N W, Blockhouse W b N. — in the courſe of the day, we had paſsed a Spanish Schooner Several times, which haled, but we could not underſtand what they wanted. at evening She came to anker neer us and Sent her boate on board, for provisions. they informed us that forty days Sence they were lying at anker neer the place where they now lay, that there came on a North wind which drove them to Sea, that currents and contrerary winds carried them to the bay of Campechey, and had not ben able to regain there Station from which they were driven forty days before untill now.

how different was our fortune, in our paſsage from Cape S[t] Antonio to Penſacola. in croſsing this Same bay we had to conflict with Storms and contrary winds for five days lying at the mercy of those currents to cary us we knew not whether, yet providence conducted us directly to our deſiered port

1773 March 22[d] we entered the Miſſiſippi river, & proceeded up about 10 mile from the Mud banks, or mouth of the Ship channel, called the French Belies.[1] on the Barr is 12 feet water only. we were wind bound here for Several days in which time I made a Survey of the mouth of the river with Several of its mouths or out lets —

25[th] under a very Light Breeſe at S W, for part of the day made 15½ mile

26[th] light Breeze at S W made 27¼ mile at 9½ mile paſsed a plantation on the right & the first on the river. —

27[th] no wind part of the day made only 13½ mile

28[th] we are opposit Monſier De laloiras plantation which is the most considerable we have met with haveing 16 Negroes on it. he tells us he is 72 year old & that he is the first man Born in Louisania — has 320 acres french meaſure that under the French Goverment he valued it at £12000 Sterlin, but now it would not be valued at more then one third of that money (So diagreable is the Spanish goverment.

he informs us the river at this place never riſes & falls more than 8 feet & not commonly above 5 or 6 feet, but higher up more. — we Saw many Frenchmen here who appeared with as heathy countenances as the people in the Northern Collonies —

March 30[th] we paſsed English Reach So called and came too against the left bank about 3 mile below

[1] Balize.

New orleans we found Several Veſsels here, mostly English, waiting here for trade, not being alowed to lie at the town or opposet to it. — —

while Lying wind bound, the 23 & 24 took a Sketch of the Several out lets or mouths of the River, and in coming up took the courses & eſtemated the distences & from entering the chanel at the Mud banks I make 85¾ mile to the English Reach & from thence to Orleans 14 mile

thus far the river is about half a mile wide with a gentle current. with a very light Breeze a Veſsel makes her paſsage in a Short time, with the wind in the Southerly quarter, as Far as English reach, where after worping one mile we came to Sale again —

the river here is 715 yards wide, and the deepth 70 fathom — —

April 8th Capt Goodrich haveing refused to proceed any further, with the Sloop, we proceeded up the river in a Small Batteau, — takeing the course of the river & distences as before, make this day 15¾ mile

April 9th at 20½ mile, we came up with Mr Naſhes Sloop who informs he had ben further up & might have gon far above Manſhack without worping

April 10th made 16½ mile, 11th fair wind Set our Sale & arrived at the Acadian Settlement 71 mile above New orleans. theſe people were removed by the English from Nova Scotia, in 1754 — we land on the right

April 12th tarried among the Acadians all day and were treated with hospitality — they have a Church a few miles above this on the left bank —

13th we paſsed a town of the Homaſs Indians called Choof town, they have about 20 warriours —

15th paſsed the river Ibervill, So called in the treaty

of 1763, at the head of the Island of Orleans & is 118½ mile from the Town of New orlans, it is a Small outlet of the Miſſiſippi & was at this time dry, however in high water runs eastward, & with the river Amit falls into the Lakes Maurapas & Ponterchane & forms the Island of orleans —

on the Island Side was a Spanish officer, & 10 men on the English Side called Manſhack was Several tollarable Houſes, & very good gardens, but no Soldiers about 1½ mile above Manſhack is the Indian village of the Alabames on the right hand —

16th paſsed Carpenters, the first English Plantation —

17th paſsed Batten Rouge about 14 mile above Manſhack and at 38¼ mile to Browns Cliff & Thompsons Creek

18th at 3½ mile above Thompsons Creek came to the first Plantation of Point Coupe —

19th at 4 mile paſsed George Urqurharts plantation, on the right bank of the river —

at 6½ mile came to the Fort & Church of Point Copee, a french Settlement on the Westerly Side of the river and is Said to be as old, or older then orleans & at this tim extended about Seven Leagus on the river

made 15½ opposit to Mr McIntosh on the East of the river — paſsed a ſtream on the right called Clap river

April 20th, made 12¼ mile to day, paſsed an Indian Villege of about 40 Hutts, belonging to the Tonicas —

Wednesday 21st made 18½ mile to Mr Blancherds plantation

Thursday 22d made 16 mile to day, at 9¼ we were opposet the Appelouſes, an out let of the Miſſiſippi,

which flows into the Gulf or Bay of Mexeco. this out let appears to be about 40 perches wide & according to the Survey I mad of the river is 315½ mile from the Bellis or mouth of the river, and 97¼ mile above the head of the Island of Orleans. Three mile above this last out let, falls in on the west the river de Rouge, or Red Rive it appears to be about 200 yards wide. —

Friday 23d made 18¼ mile at 10 mile lower end of Lofftis-Cliffs on the East — at 13 mile lower mouth of the Homocheto Creek on which it was Said were a number of Familis —

Saturday 24th made 20 mile, at 13 mile coasting the western Shore of the river, we found that in 11½ mile we had advanced but 46¾ yards, the ismus being by actual Meaſurement no more acroſs, and by a water Level we found the fall of the water 2 feet 6 inches

in the courſe of the day we paſsed three Islands, on the right of the channel, lying abrest of each other, & behind which is another mouth of the Homocheto or rather out let of a Small Lake lying three miles inland into which the Homocheto enties by three channels .

Sunday April 25th made 12½ mile, paſsed another Small Biue, which in high water communicates with the Lake of Homocheto. at 4½ an Island neer the left Shore at 10 mile 2 very large Island, lying abrest. —

Monday 26th made 14¼ mile to Fort Rosolen, at the Natches — at 2½ mile to the high Cliff which joins the river one mile at 4 mile paſsed the St Catherine Creek a Small Streem heading Northest — half a mile below the Natches is the first gravel Shore we have Seen on the river —

Fort Rossoline, or rather its ruins, is Sittuate on

the margen of a very elevated highth neer 80 perches from the river & by a winding road not very difficult of aſsent. the fort was a reguler Heptagon capable of containing 4 or 500 men. the English keept a garison here untill about 4 years ago, Sence which the Barracks &c ware burnt by the Indians, in a drunken frolick — Here I attempted takeing the Lattitude of the place with Davis' Quadrent & made the Fort to be in Lat – 31° – 15′ N & the variation of the Needle 5° – E – the Lands for Several mile round appear to be Indian planting grounds, worn out. one traders Hutt neer the old Fort

Tuesday April 27th we viſited ſome Setlers on St Catherine Creek about 3 mile distent. the Lands on this Creek is pritty good, timber, Hickory, Walnut, oak, white & yallow Aſh — which kind of Land we were informed extends 30 or 40 mile from the river, that on the Homocheto Creek about 20 mile distent are a number of Settlers, & the Lands very good —

As far as we have aſsended the river we have ſeen no Creek or Spring water fit to drink. at Mr Thompſons where we have ben to Day we ſaw a well 60 feed deep without ſtone or Curb, ſo Stiff is the Clay that it had no appear of caveing — —

The distences from the mouthe of the Miſsisippi as follows

	Miles	Miles
From the mouth of the river to English Reach	86	
to New orleans	14	100
to Manſhack or head of Island of orleans	118	218
to Batten rouge Creek	20	238
to Browns Cliff, first high land & Thompsone Creek	19	257
to point Coupee Church	10	267
to Appeloufis outlet runing into the Bay of Mexico	49	316
to River de Rouge, or Red river on the west	3	319
to Lofftis Cliffs, the 2d high land joining the river	14	333
to the Landing of the Natchees	55	388

N B the courses were taken with a Small compaſs having a Sea compas bowl, & each course estemated

Wednesday April 28th Left the Natches in the after noon and on the morning of the 3d of May arrived at the mouth of Biue Pier, or Stone Creek, distence 46½ mile from Natches

about 8 mile below this Creek is the place called pette gulf where the river is bounded for neer one mile by a Solled rock. the angle of the ellivation is at about 45° and at lest 300 feet high

all the valuable Lands on the river, below Biue Pier, haveing ben already Located we ſpent but Little time in examining the country, but we now comnence our reconnoitering

We aſend the Biue in our boat found it 17 mile to the forks. on the right found the land in general uneven, Soil thin, & gravelly on the ridges, on the Left Land low & in many places ſubject to the river floods, but on both forks of this Creek, the Lands are in General pritty good Soil, a mixture of Clay & Merle. Timber White & Black oak, Hickory Beech Copalm, & Some Cyprus.

about 100 rod below the Forks we maked a tree, for commincing our Location —

Wednesday May 5th we returned down this Creek to the river, 9 mile above the Biue Pier we arrive at the Big gulf, where reſides Mr Thomas James, an Indian trader

May 6th we hired an Indian for a poilate in the woods, & alſo to inform any Indians we might meet, who we were — 3 mile abve Mr James is the Louſocheto, or big black river. here two of our party with the Chocteau we had hired Set off by Land while the rest proceed up the river to the Walnut hills distence from Big Black 55½ we arrived here Saturday the 8th in the evening — paſsed Several high handſom Banks of Bottom on our way from big Black as well

as ſome Large bottoms which are flooded in high water

here we met our Gentlemen who came by Land. we lern from them, that their rout was through a flat country & Some Cyrus Swamps that the Cain Brake were ſo thick it was not poſsible to examin the Land far from the path —

Sunday May 9th proceeded up the river withe the Boat, & the ſame two gentlemen which before had come by Land from the Big Black Set off again by land for the high grounds on the Yasou. from the Walnut hills we make 17¾ to the mouth of the Yasou & 131¾ the Natches, the courſes & distences taken as mentioned in page 67 [44] —

Monday May 10 we aſended the Yasou river about 9 mile to a high ground, Said to be formerly a French Station. here we met with our compenions who came by land at an excellent Spring of water iſsuing from a ſtone Quarry. I found by my calculation we were North of the provence Line of West Floriday: this & the Sour Countenances of a number of Indians Signifiing there disapprobation of our being here indused us to return down the river with out examining the Lands here abouts

The yasou river is about 25 perches wide, a dead ſtreme, bad water, — with many Allegators. the Miſsisippi backs far up this river in high water. we fell down the Yasou about 6 mile, & Camped —

It was the intention of Colo Putnam & Mr Lyman to have gon by the Chickaſa path from the yasou over to the Big Black river, but our Chactau refused to poilate them

Tuesday May 11th we reconoitered the Land on the South Side the yasou for Some distence —

Wednesday may 12th Spent as yesterday — —

Thursday d° [May] 13th Col° Putnam, Mr Lyman & myſelf Set out by Land, more perticulerly to examin the high Lands Stretching from the old French Station, before mentioned to the Walnut hills. we Steared our courſe as neer the hills as poſible on account of the Cane brakes Saw Several Small Streams iſsuing from the high Lands, & land very rich. in the after noon we purſued one of theſe Streams to Some distence, when we were taken up by a mighty Cane Brake. here Col° Putnam climed a tree & discovered high Land at about 100 rods distent which we were two hours in gaining, on account of the difficulty of giting through the Cane —

here I climed a tree & had a fine prospect of the Country. the Lands from the Northeast round to the South appear hilly but not Mountanious nor much broken we returned part of the way down the hill & Camped by a very fine Spring —

Friday May 14th we came by various windings through the flat Lands to our Boat, about one mile above Walnut hills — the flat country between here & the yaſou is much injured by ponds, Cyprus Swamps & overflowing of the river

Satturday May 15 — Mr Lyman & my Self, went up the Cliff, or Walnut hills. here I climed two trees, found the Land makes high, North — East & South or S S E bearing off from the river, but Some what uneven full of Cane & rich ſoil on top the highest ridges. theſe high lands join those of the Big Black Some miles from its mouth. under theſe hills the gentlemen mentioned before who came up by Land paſsed Several Cyprus Swamps & dead ponds without meeting with one brook or runing Stream =

having finished our exploring in this quarter, we fell down the river Landing Several times to examin

the bank, intended Som of us Should croſs the great Bend by Land, but were told it was impracticable on account of ponds, Samps, & Cane

Sunday May 16 we returned down the river as far as Mr James, who Speeks the Indian tongue. our Chactau now informed us by Mr James why he refused to poilate a part of us from the yasou to the big black, as before mentioned viz. that at the yasou he met two Chiefs who forbid his going, or in other words was opposed to our exploring any of the Lands above the big black river. —

Monday May 17 — Colo Putnam Mr Lyman & my ſelf Set out to explore the Lands on the Big Black. this river or Creek is in General from Six to eight rods wide, we aſſended this river about 25 mile, with the Boat to a rapped, with a Smooth firm rock at the bottom, over which the water falls about one foot. high banks — a good mill Seat —

we ſaw much fine Land on & neer this Creek with a number of fine Springs of Water. for Several mils hoeve on the right hand the lands apper hilly but rich —

Thursday. May 20. we returned down the river to Mr Jamesˢ where we found the Second Chief of Chactau Nation waiting for us. he preſented us with his Commiſsion given him by Govenor Chester — To Mingo-oume Captain Georgit or Second Chief &c —

haveing Shewn us his Commiſsion, he told us that he underſtood that we had ben at the yasou, that no white people would be permited to Settle there — we deſired him to come in the morning & we would attend to his buſineſs —

Friday May 21st about 10. A M — Mingo oma, whose name is alſo Snake head, cam as expected.

we asked him how far up the Miſsisippi there nation had agreed the white people might Settle — he Said that at the Last Congreſs it was agreed the white people Should Settle on the Lousocheto, or Big-Black & not higher. —

at 5 Clock P M we ſet out down the river —

Monday May 24th at the Natches obſerved the Suns miridian altitude found the Lattitude 31° – 15′ N as before and by an observation at Sun Setting make the variation of the Magnetic needle 5° – 30′ East —

Tuesday May 25th, we learn the lands beyond the Homocheto are broken & without water, & therefore ditermin not to explore them as we had before contemplated —

Wednesday June 2d we arrived at Manſhac, haveing in our way down Spent considerable time in exploreing the Lands neer the river on the English, or West Florida Side — and here it my be proper to give a general deſcription of the country we have viſited and —

First — the intervels or bottoms are very rich, with a very deep Soil, but in general & I believe univerſally Subject to inundation by the waters of the river in high floods. I ground my opinion on this circumſtance, that I Saw drift wood Lodged in trees hanging over the Side of the river higher above the Suface of the water then any Land I Saw bordering on the river, except the few hills, or Cliffs, as they are called that join the river. —

Beſides many part of the bottoms are flooded by every conſiderable fresh in the river, and are alſo interſperced with many ponds, & Cyprus Swamps, filled with ſtagnent water, which will be very expencive to drane, & in many inſtences impracticable —

The Margin of the high Lands, bordering the

bottoms, are in generäl rich but uneven & from Several views I had from the tops of trees, this general unevenneſs of the Land extends Several miles from the river —

the Soil of the uplands in many parts is rather thin & under neeth a ſtiff clay of great depth. undergrowth on the bottoms & rich uplands, Cane —

Timber, on the high lands, Hickory & oaks of all kind Bottoms, Locoust, Willow, the Cotton tree — Copalm, Ash, Mulberry, the royal Magnola, or high Lawrel with Cyprus in abundence —

Streams of water. I Saw very few Small Stremes, none fit for Mills — the Mill Seat on the Big Black is the only one I Saw or heard of in the country —

Fowl — there Some Turkies, plenty of Duck, & in the winter geeſe & wood Pigions — —

Wild game — Dear & Bear are the chief —

Reptiles there are but few & they chiefly of the harmles kind

Fish, there are Several kinds, the Cat, & Sheeps head are the principle. —

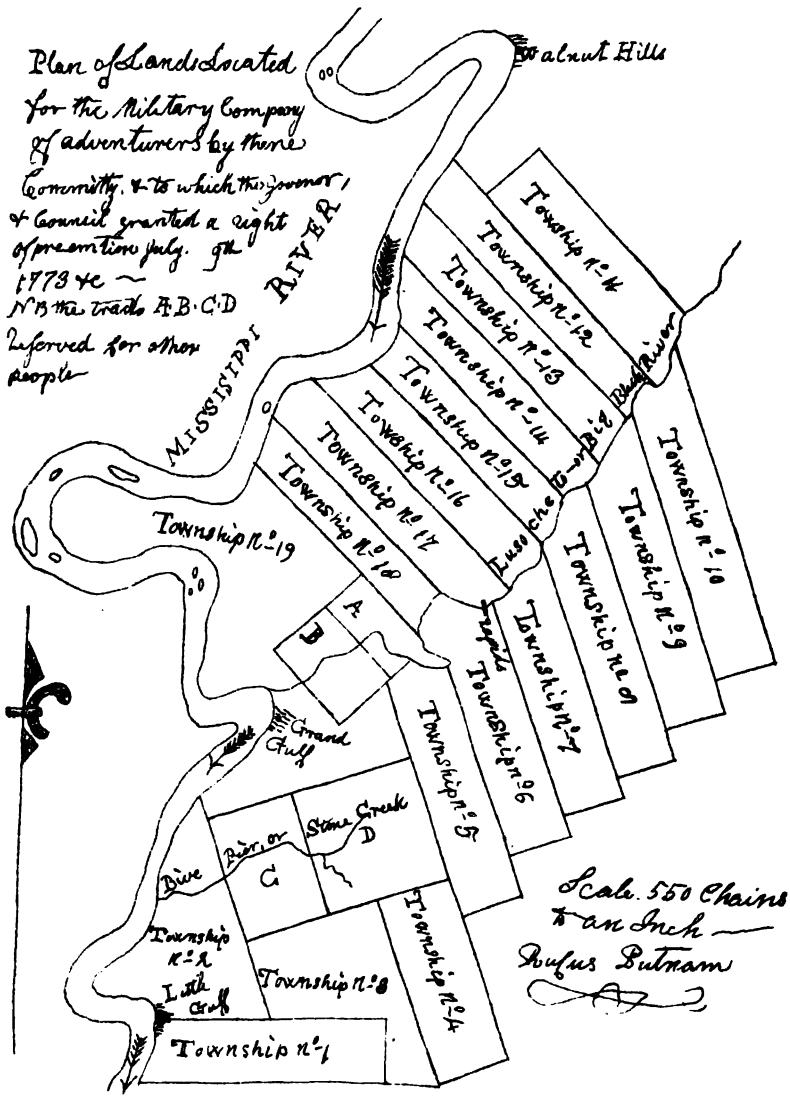
The Allegater, abunds in the Miſſiſippi and all the Streames are visited —

Thursday June 3^{d} — we met our Slop three Leagus below Manſhac, where we were detained until the 9th by M^{r} Ladle the Supercargo. — —

Saturday June 12 came too about 4 mile above orleans here we were detained untill the 28th of June while the Sloop was repairing —

Thursday July 1st at ½ past 4 Clock P M paſs the Belies, and Stand N : E : b : N for Penſacola —. which on account of head winds we did not reach untill the 5th in the evening —

Tuesday July 6th we waited on the Govenor, who informed us that in our abſence up the river to ex-


Plan of Lands Located
for the Military Company
of adventurers by there
Committy. & to which the Governor
& Council granted a right
of preemtion July. 9th
1773 &c —
N B the tracts A B C D
reserved for other
people
Walnut Hills
MISSISIPPI RIVER
Township N.o 14
Township N.o 12
Township N.o 13
Township N.o 11
Township N.o 15
Township N.o 16
Township N.o 17
Township N.o 18
Township N.o 19
Bear Creek
Bluff River
Lusa Che
Township N.o 10
Township N.o 9
Township N.o 8
Township N.o 7
Township N.o 6
Township N.o 5
Township N.o 4
Township N.o 3
Township N.o 2
Township N.o 1
A
B
C
D
Grand Gulf
Stone Creek
River or
Bluff
Little Gulf
Scale. 550 Chains
to an Inch —
Rufus Putnam

plore the country, he had by two packets from Jamecha recived Letters from England, but northing reſpecting granting Lands to the proventials.—

Wednesday July 7th we prefered a pertition to the govenor & Council with a plan of the townſhips we proposed to Locate, but So many objections were made to our proposed Location, that the buſineſs was posponed untill Friday. — in the mean time the Surveyor General directed me to make a new draft of the proposed townships — —

Friday July 9th the Councill advised on our buſineſs & furnished us with copy of there reſult, which Limited the time of reſervation to the first of March

Satturday July 10th we applied to the Govenor for a Longer time to commence the Settlement but without effect.

Sunday July 11th we went on board & fell down to Roſe Island —

Monday July 12th Colo Putnam & Mr Lyman, on advice from Mr Jones one of the council, went up to town to engage Mr Levingston, the Secretary, in the name of the Committe to move in Council for a longer reſervation then had ben granted — but of the reſult I find no minute —

Tuesday July 13th head wind.

Wednesday July 14th Still at achor neer Roſe Island

Thursday July 15th came to Sale wether fair & pleſent Light westerly Breeſe course S. E. b S Lattitude observed 29° – 11′ N —

Friday July 16th. pleasent wether, Wind W – S. W Course S E b S — Lattitude observed 26° – 54′ N

Saturday July 17th pleaſent wether, wind S – W course S E Lattitude observed 25° – 55′ N

Saturday [Sunday] July 18th at 8. H – A M we unexpectedly found our Selves in 14 fathom, & with

in half a League of a nunber of Low bushey Islands, which we took for the Tortugas at first, but they proved to be the Seven Islands. on making theſe we imediately bore up S–E untill 12 oClock — Lattitude observed 24° – 33′ — we now bore away East, & Soon Lost Sight of Land, haveing had very little wind; Sometimes not ſufficient to make the Sloop feal her helm. it was evident we had ben driven out of our course by a Strong current. it was in vain now to attempt the Bay of Matanses, haveing little or no wind & a ſtrong current under foot

Monday July 19th at 5 H – A M Saw Some of the Martiers bearing North — Stood away, or rather keept the Sloops head, East, & Sometimes E. N. E untill 12 Lattitude observed 24° – 21′ N. at ½ past 4 P M. cleared Cape Florida off which lies a Small Sandy Kee about one Legue distent, bore away N. E. b N. untill 6 oClock then N b E. N B the ſmallest Canoe might have made the voige thus far with the greatest Seafety ſo ſmall was the wind & So Smothe the water

Tuesday July 20th in Sight of Land most of the day — course N b E Lat observed 25° – 5′ N a freſh breese in the after noon Calm in the night —

Wednesday July 21st Saw Land most of the day — Lat observed 26° – 51′ N

Thursday July 22d head winds & Squall. I was So Sea ſick that I was no longer able to keep a journal

Friday August 6th arrived at New york, haveing had my health in a remarcable maner, exipt Seaſicknef, with which I was alway attacked whenever we had a freſh Breese of wind, or a rough Sea —

Saturday auguſt 8th [7th] the Sloop Miſſiſippi being to remain at New york Some time, Colo Putnam his Son Daniel & my ſelf took paſsag in a Sloop for Nor-

wich, but on our way ſprung the Mast & with Some difficulty arrived at New London on Tuesday the 10th

Wednesday auguſt 11th. quit the ſloop & took paſsag in a Row boate for Norwich —

Thursday auguſt 12th came on Horseback to Colo Putnams & Friday 13th arrived at my own house in Brookfield —

It may be a matter of enquery with ſome what was the final reſult of this undertakeing. I anſwer ſo vavorable, was the report of the reconnotering Commite reſpecting the quality of the Lands, Climate &c and moderat terms on which the govenor & council engaged to grant the Lands; that the Company at a meeting in Hartford in the fall of 1773 reſolved to proſecute the Settlement, and the Same fall, & winter & Spring Severl hundred families embarked from Maſsachusetts, Connecticut & other places for the purpos of Settleing on the Lands we had explored: but they were Sadly disappointed for on the 6th of October 1773 govenor Chester informed his Council theat he had recived "an ordor of the King in Coun- "cil prohibiting him from granting any more Lands, "either on Family Rights or on purchas, untill the "Kings pleaſure was further ſignified to him" thus the Land office was ſhut before the emigrants arrived, & indeed I believe before any of them Sailed, & never opened afterward — and all the encouragment they found on there arrivel was a permiſsion to Set down on any vacant Land they could find — — the reſult to my ſelf was the Loſs of more then eight months time in the tour, beſides two jornies to Hartford & considerable expence more then the $80, which I recived as advance pay before we left N. york

Those who emigrated in 1774 arrived generally too late in the Season, to expect health in such a Change

of Climate, Soon fell Sick, many died, & the revolutionary war brakeing out in 1775 put an end to the buſineſs of further proſecuting the Settlement

The Revolutionary War with Great Brittain Comminced the 19th of April 1775, By the British troops firing on Some Militia at Lexeton, Concord &c which was followed by raising an army for the defence of the country.

I entered the Service in the capacity of Lt Colo in a Regement commanded by Colo David Brewer, and continued in Service to the cloſe of the war —

My Character as a Soldier is not for me to give — however that my decendents may know in Some meaſure what Services I rendered my county, and in what eſtemation I was held by my ſuperiour officers, I propose to give ſome account of the Special Services I was called to engage in.

My Regiment was Stationed at Roxbury, under the command of General Thomas, & imedately after the Battle of Charlestown the 17th of June, the general & Field ofiers of that Station met in Councill, to advise what was best to be don in our exposed Sittuation. it was the unanimous advice of the officers conveaned, that Some Lines of defence ſhould be imediately commenced for the Securing the troops from ſurprize & protection of the town — the general informed us that he had applied for Colo Gridley to come over from Cambridge, but could not obtain him as he was the only Engineer on that Side, & the only one he knew of. — Some of my acquaintence mentioned me as having ben imployed in that line in the Late war against Canada I informed the General

that I had never read a word on the Subject of Fortification, that it was true that I had ben imployed on Some under British Eengeneers, but pretended to no knowledge of Laying works. but there was no excuse would do, undetake I must — — Oh ! what a Sittuation were we in. no Lines to cover us, better then a board fence in case the enemy advanced upon us, & this we had reason to expct — Neceſsity therefore was upon me, undertake I must

I imediately commenced traceing out Lines in front of Roxbury toward Boston, & various other places, on the Roxbury Side peticularly at Sewels point it was my good fortune to be at this place when Gen[l] Waſhington & General Lee first came over to examin the Sittuation of the Troops & works on Roxbury Side of the River — and I was not a little gratified & incouraged from there perticuler approbation of the plan of the works I had Laid out. General Lee Spook much in favor of the works at Sewels point, compared with those which had ben conſtructed on Cambridge Side — —

the works Laid out at Roxbury, Dorchester & Brookline were all of my conſtructing, & Late in the Fall I laid out the Fort on Cobble hill, neer Charlestown Mill pond

In the course of this Campaign, by the Generals ordor, I Surveyed & delineated the courſes, distences and relitave Sittuation of the enimies works in Boston & Charlestown with our own in Cambridge, Roxbury, &c &c &c —

In December I accomanied General Lee to Providence & Newport, at this Last place, I Lade out Some works, perticulerly a Battery from whence to command the Harbour, & Some works neer Howlands

Ferry, to Secure the communication of Rhode Island with the Main —

In the formation of the new army to be raised at the close of 1775 I was appointed L^{t} Col^{o} in the 22^{d} regiment, Commanded by Col^{o} Sam^{el} Wyllis — however I never joined the regiment, but continued in the Engineer department

1776 January & February — during theſe months the mind of General Waſhington was deeply engaged on a plan of croſsing on the Ice & attacking the British in Boston —, or endevor to draw them out by takeing poſsesion of Dorchester Neck. — —

Now with reſpect to takeing poſsession of Dorchester Neck there were circumstances which fell within my knowledge, & Sphere of duty, which were ſo evidently marked by the hand of an overruling providence that I think proper to relate them —

As Soon as the Ice was thought ſufficiently ſtrong for the army to paſs over (or prehaps rather before) a Council of general officers was conveaned on the Subject. what there perticuler opinions were I never knew, but the Brigadiers were directed to conſult the Field officers of there Several Regiments, & they again to feal the temper of the Captains & ſubbalterns —

While this was doing I was invited to dine at head Quarters, & while at diner General Waſhington desiered me to tarry after diner — & when we were alone he entered into a free conversation on the Subject of Storming the town of Boston —

That it was much better to draw the enemy out to Dorchester, then to atack him in Boston no one doubted, for if we could maintain our ſelves on that point or Neck of Land, our command of the town & Harbour of Boston would be ſuch as would probably compel them to Leave the place. —

But the Cold weather which had made a Bridge of Ice for our paſsage into Boston, had alſo frozen the earth to a great depth, eſpecially in the open country Such as was the hills on Dorchester Neck — So that it was impoſsible to make a Lodgment there in the uſual way, however, the General directed me to conſider the ſubject & if I could think of any way in which it could be don, to make report to him imediately —

and *now mark thoſe Singuler circumſtances* which I call providence — I left head quarters in company with an other Gentleman, & in our way come by Gen[l] Heaths I had no thoughts of calling untill I came against his door, & then I Sais, let us call on Gen[l] Heath, to which he agreed. I had no other motive but to pay my reſpects to the general. while there I cast my eye on a book which Lay on the table, Lettered on the back, *Mullers Field Engineer.* I imediately requested the General to lend it me. he denied me. I repeated my requst. he again refused, & told me he never Lent his books. I then told him that he must recollect that he was one, who at Roxbury in a Meaſure compelled [me] to undertake a buſineſs which at the time I confeſsed I never had read a word about, & that he must let me have the book. after ſome more excuſes on his part, close preſsing on my part, I obtained the Loan of it — I arrived at my quarters about dark. it was the custom for the overſeers of the workmen to report to me every evening what progreſs had ben made during the day. when I arrived there were Some of them already there. I put my book in the Chest, & if I had time I did not think of Looking in it that night —

the next morning as Soon as oppertunity offered I took my book from the Chest, and looking over the

contents I found the word, Chandilears. what is that thought I it is Somthing I never heard of before, but no ſooner did I turn to the page where it was described with its use but I was ready to report a plan for makeing a Lodgment on Dorchester Neck — (infidels may Laugh if they please)

In a few minuts after I had for my Self ditermined, Col° Gridley (the Engineer who had conducted the work at Cambridge) with Col° Knox of the Artillery, who had ben directed to conſult with me on the ſubject arrived. they fell in with my plan. our report was approved of by the Gen[l] & preperations imediately Set on foot to cary it into effect and every thing being ready for the enterprise, the plan was put in execution & a Lodgment made on Dorchester highths in the night of the fourth of March — ſuch were the circumſtances which Led to the discovery of a plan which obliged the enemy to Leve Boston. viz — a Lodgment made of Chandeliers * Faſciens &c

The 31[st] of March 1776 I recived General Waſhingtons ordors[1] "to march to New york, by the way of Providence, to afford Govenor Cook my best advice & aſsistence in the conſtruction of the work there" in this tour I went to visit Newport again where I Laid out Some additional works. on my return from Newport to Providence I met with General Waſhington there, I believe the 6[th] of April and obtained leave to go by Brookfield to New York. I belive I tarried with my family part of two days & then pushed for New york where I arrived about the 20[th]

* A Chandelier is conſtructed of one Sill, 10 feet long & 6 inch Square with two posts 5 feet long of the ſame ſize framed into the Sill 5 feet apart, each ſupported by a Brace on the out Side — they are placed on the ground at a proper distence from each other the open ſpace between the post are then filled with bundels of Faſciens ſtrongly picketed togather —

[1] Page 129.

on my arrivel at New york I was charged (as chief Engineer) with Laying out & overſeing the works which were erected during the Campagn, at New york, Long Island & there dependencies with Fort Washington, Fort Lee, King Bridge &c most of which, but not all, appear in a plan of New York Island &c which accompanies Marſhals Life of Waſhington and obſtructions in the river — this was a Service of Much Feteague, for my whole time was taken up from daylight in the morning untill night in the buſineſs, beſides Sometimes going in the night by Warter from New york to Fort Waſhington.

and that you may know in what account I was with Gen[l] Waſhington at that time I ſhall transcribe a part of his letter to Congreſs of the 10[th] of July 1776 —

"General Mercer is now in the Jerſeys, for the pur-
"pos of reciving & ordering the Militia coming for the
"flying camp: and I have Sent over our chief engi-
"neer to view the ground within the Neighborhood of
"Amboy, and to lay out Some Neceſary works for the
"encampment, and ſuch as may be propper at the
"different paſses in Bargin Neck, and other places"

Augut 1776 Congreſs apponted me Engineer which was anounced to me as follows —

NEW YORK, August 11[th], 1776

Sir

"I have the pleaſure to inform you that Congreſs
"have appointed you an Engineer with the Rank of Col[o], and pay of Sixty dollars per month —[1]

I am Sir, your aſured frind & Ser[t]

G' WASHINGTON

[1] Omitted in General Putnam's transcription: —

"I beg of you to hasten the sinking of vessels and other obstructions in the river at Fort Washington, as fast as it is possible. Advise Gen.

September 8th 1776, a Council of General officers had dитermined on holding the City of Newyork, See general Waſhingtons Letter of that date — [1]

on the 12th of September having ben out with General Miflin, by ordor of General Waſhington, to reconnoiter the country between Kingsbridge & Morrisania & eastward on our return we met with general Waſhington neer Harlem highth, where we made our report to him in consequence of which a council of general officers was conveaned, whose advice was the withdrawing the army from the city. See the generals Letter of the 14th September,[1] & this measure was the Selvation of the army, and which probably would not have ben but for the discoveries made by Miflin & my Self —

My being appointed Engineer by Congreſs was wholly unexpected — I had begun to act in that capacity through pure neceſsity, and had continued to conduct the buſineſs more from neceſsity & reſpect for the general then from any opinion I had of my own abilities, or knowledge of that art; true it is that after my arrivel at New york I had read ſome books on Fortification & I knew much more then when I begun at Roxbury, but I had not the vanity to ſupose that my knowledge was Such as to give me a Claim to the first rank in a Corps of Engineers, yet my experience convinced me that ſuch a Corpe was neceſsary to be eſtablished, therefore neer the Last of September, I drew up a plan for Such an eſtablishment & preſented it to General Waſhington, and which he trans-

Putnam constantly of the kind of vessels you want and other things, that no delay that can possibly be avoided may happen.
P.S. — Congress have just sent two French gentlemen here as engineers. Will either of them be of use at Fort Washington or Kingsbridge?"

[1] Washington's *Official Letters to Congress.*

mitted to Congreſs. See his letter to that body of the 5th of November 1776 —[1]

"I have taken the Liberty to transmit a plan for "eſtablishing a corps of engineers, artificers, &c, "Sketched out by Colonel Putnam, & which is pro- "posed for the consideration of Congreſs. How far "they may incline to adopt it, or whether they may "chuse to proceed upon Such an extensive Scal, they "will be pleased to determine. However I concive it "a matter well worthy of there conſideration, being "convinced from experience and from the reaſons "Suggested by Colo Putnam who has acted with "great diligence & reputation in the buſineſs, that "Some eſtablishment of the Sort is highly neceſsary, "and will be productive of the most beneficial con- "ſequences"

in my Letter to General Waſhington on the ſubject I disclaimed all pretention of being placed at the head of the proposed corps, & Signified it would be my choice to Serve in the Line of the army — — —

October 19th 1776 — the British Landed on Pells point and Some Skirmiſhing to place in the afternoon between part of Glovers Brigade & Some advance parties of the enemy neer East Chester. — the next morning by ordor of the general I Set out from Kingsbridge, to reconnoiter there Poſition &c I Set out in company with Colo Reed the adjutent general & a foot guard of about 20 men. when we arrived on the highths of East Chester we Saw a Small body of British neer the church, but we could obtain no intiligence, the Houses were diserted —

Colo Reed now told me he must return to attend iſsuing general ordors. I observed that we had made no discovery yet of any consequence, that if he went

[1] October 5, 1776.

back I wished him to take the guard back for I chose to go alone —

I then disguised my apperence as an officer as far as I could, and Set out on the road to White plains. however, I did not then know where White plains was, nor where the road I had taken would carry me. I had gon about 1½ mile, when a road turned off to the right, I followed it prehaps½ a mile & came to a house, where I lerned from the woman that this road Lead to New-Rochell that the British were there & that they had a guard at a house in Sight. on this information I turned & purſued my rout toward White plains (the houses on the way all deſerted) untill I came with 3 or 4 mile of the place. here I discovered a House a little a head with men about it by my glaſs I found they were not British Soldiers, however I approached them with caution. I called for Some oats for my horse, Set down and heard there chat Some little time, when I found they were frinds to the cause of America & then I began to make the neceſsary enquieries — & on the whol I found that the main body of the Brittish Lay neer New Rochelle. from thence to White plains about nine mile, good roads & in general level open country that at white plains was a large quantity of Stores, with only about three hundred melitia to guard them, that the British had a detachment at Maniarneck only Six miles from White plains, & from White plains only five mile to the North River, where lay five or Six of the enimies Ships & Slops, tenders &c —

having made theſe diſcoveries I Set out on my return, the road from Wards acroſ the Brunx was my intended rout unleſs I found the Brittish there, which happly they were not, but I Saw American on the

highths west of the Brunx, who had arrived there after I paſsed up — I found it to be Lord Sterlings Division. it was now after Sunset. I gave My Lord a ſhort accont of my disoveries took Some refreshment, & Set off For head quarters, by the way of Philips, at the mouth of Sawmill river, a road I had never traveled, among tory inhabitence & in the night. I dare not enquire the way, but providence conducted me — I arrived at head Quarter neer Kings bridge (a distence of about 10 mile) about nine oClock at night. I found the General alone. I reported to him the discoveries I had made, with a Sketch of the country. he complained very fealingly of the Gentlemen from New York from whome he had never ben able to obtain a plan of the country — that from there information he had ordored the ſtores to White plains as a place of Securety — the General Sent for General Greene, & gen^{l} George Clinton Sence Vice Preſident of the United) as Soon as General Clinton came in my ketch and Statement was Shewn to him & he was asked if the Sittuation of those places were as I had reported, — gen^{l} Clinton Said they were

I had but a Short time to refreſh my Self & Horse when I recived a Letter from the General with ordors to proceed immediately to Lord Sterlings, and I arrived at his quarter about two oClock in the morning

October 21st 1776 — Lord Sterling Division Marched before daylight & we arrived at the White plains about 9 Clock A M — and thus was the American army Saved (by *an interpoſeing providence*) *from a probabal total deſtruction.* I may be asked wherein this perticuler interposition of providence appears. I anſwer, First in the Stupidity of the British

General in that he did not early on the morning of the 20th Send a detachment and take poſsession of the post & Stores at White plains for had he don this we must then have faught him on his own terms, and ſuch disadvantagous terms on our part as humanely Speeking must have proved our overthrow again when I parted with Colo Reed on the 20th as before mentioned, I have always thought I was moved to So hazardous an undertaking by foreign influence — on my rout I was Liable to meet with Some British or tory parties, who probably would have made me a priſoner, (as I had no knowledge of any way of eſcape acroſs the Brunx but the one I came out) hence I was induced to disguiſe my ſelf by takeing out my cockade, Loping my hat & Secreating my Sword & pistols under my Loose coat, and then had I ben taken under this disguise the probability is that I Should have ben hanged for a Spy —

October 29th [28th?] the british advanced in front of our Lines at White plain about 10 Clock A M — I had just arrived on Chatterton hill in ordor to throw up Some works when they hove in ſight. as Soon as they discovered us they commenced a Severe cannonade but without eny effect of consequence. General McDougal about this time arriving with his Brigad from Burtises, & observing the British to be croſsing the Brunx below in Large bodies in ordor to attack us, our troops were posted to recive them in a very advantagous poſition. the British in there advance were twice repulsed, at length however there numbers were increased ſo that they were able to turn our right flank. we lost many men but from information after wards recived there was reaſon to believe they lost many more then we the rale & Stone fence behind which our troops were posted proved

as fatal to the British as the rail fence & Graſs hung on it did at Charlestown the 17th of June 1775 —

after the affair of the 29th of October my time was imployed in examining the nature of the country in a military point of view in our reere towards North Castle, Croton river &c untill about the 5th of November when I reived the follow ordor from the general which I Shall take the liberty to transcribe

Headquarters WHITEPLAINS November 5th 1776

Sir

" you are directed to repair to wrights Mills, & lay " out any work there you concive to be neceſsary in " caſe it is not already don ; from thence you are to " proceed towards Croton Bridge, and post the two " Regiments of Militia in the most advantagous " maner, So as to obstruct the enimies paſsage to " that quarter

" you are alſo to give what directions you think are " proper to those regiments, reſpecting the breaking " up the roads Leading from the North river eastward

" after this you are to go up to Pekes Kill and di- " rect Lashers detachment to brake up the roads " there. you are likewise to Lay out what works will " be advisable there & ordor them to be Set about "

Given under my hand at

" To Colo PUTNAM Engineer GO WASHINGTON

November 11th 1776 Genl Washington came to Pekes kiln, & I went with him to Visit Fort Montgomery. on the Same day or the next he crossed the North river, leveing inſtructions with me to aſsertain the Geography of the country with the roads & paſses throug, & about the high lands, a report of which I afterwards made with a Sketch of a plan — [1]

[1] Page 129.

December 8th 1776 I wrote to Genl Washington in forming that I had accepted of a Regiment in the Maſsachuſetts Line of the continantal army with my reaſons for ſo doing, aſsureing him at the Same time of my attachment to him, & redineſs to execute any Service I Should be ordored on. an extract of his answer I Shall Subjoin —

" { Buck County neer Coryells
  { Ferry December 17th 1776

Dear Sir

" your Letter of the 8th Instent from Peakskill came " duely to hand. your acceptence of a Regiment to " be raised on continantal eſtablishment by the State " of Maſsachuſetts bay, is quite agreable to me, and " I Sincearly wish you ſucceſs in recruiting & much " honor in Commanding it; —

" your profeſsions of attachment are extreamly " pleasing to Dear Sir your most obedient Servent"

Go Washington"

again on the 20th of December 1776 in a Letter to Congreſs the General has the following. viz "I have " alſo to mention that, for want of ſome eſtablishment " in the department of engineers agreable to the " plan laid before Congreſs in october Last, Colonel " Putnam, who was at the head of it, has quitted and " taken a regiment in the State of Maſsachuſetts. I " know of no other man tolerably well qualified for " the conducting of that buſineſs. —

" None of the french gentlemen whome I have Seen " with appointments in that way appear to know " anything of the matter. there is one in Philidel- " phia, who I am told is clever: but him I have not " Seen —"

after this I repaired to head Quarters to Settle my

accounts and then in Janury 1777 returned to Maſsachusetts to recruit my regiment in which I was pritty Succeſsfull, but as I was not engaged in much extra Service this year my memore will be very Short. three Companys of the regiment marched from Worcester about the first of May, for Peakskill & from thence In June were ordored up the North river & finally to Fort Ann. I marched with the remainder from Worcester the 3^{d} of July. at Springfield I recived information that those three companies were gon up the North river, & alſo ordors to join the Brigade in that quarter. I joined the Northen troops about 4 mile above Fort Edward. the next day the army fell down the river about 4 mile, except my regiment which remained three or four days. — this gave me an oppertunity to examin Fort Edward & compair its preſent State with what it was formally. in the year 1760, the Last time I Saw it when Standing, it appeared as it really was a very ſtrong Forti-fortification — (See page 22 [15] of this memore) but now alaſs its remaining walls & ditch would aford no cover in caſe of an attack — —

With reſpect to the events which took place this Campaign on the North river, between the army under the imediate Command of General Bugoyne & ours under General Gates, I Should Say northing of my Self, were it not for Some omisions & misstatements by the historian with reſpect to Storming the works of the German reſerve on the Seventh of october (See Life of Waſhington, page 257–258 Voll. 3

The facts are as follows. in front of those works was a cleare open field bounded by a wood at the distence of about 120 yards in the Skirt of this wood I was posted with the 5th & 6th regiments of

Maſsachuſetts — the right & left of those works were partly covered by a thin wood & the reer by a thick wood. the moment ordors were given to Storm, I moved rapidly acroſs the open field & entered the works in front, I believe the Same moment that the troops of Learneds Brigade, (in which Jacksons regiment was) entered on the Left & reer. I imediately formed the two regiments under my command & moved out of theſe works (which were not enclosed in the reer) into the wood toward the enemies enclosed redoubt, on the right flank of there main encampment — General Learned as Soon as he had Secured & Sent off all the plunder taken in this Camp, withdrew all the other troops without biding me a good night. —

however Some time before morning General Glover joined me with three regiments from the right Wing of the army

Marſhals account of this affair is very different from mine for Sais he "Jacksons Regiment of Maſſachusetts "Led by Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, turned the right "of the encampment & Stormed the works." No mention is made of Brigadier Gen[l] Learned, who Stormed at the Same time with other Corps of his Brigade as well as Jacksons. Nor of the two regiments under my command who Stormed in front. again "Brooks maintained the ground he had gained" northing can be further from being correct then this, for except the two regiments which I commanded I never Saw troops in greater disorder — nor did I See any of them formed into ordor for action before I moved out with the 5[th] & 6[th] regiments as before mentioned

Page 61, in a note from M[r] Gordon, it is Said that Nixon Brigade croſsed Saratoga Creek. the fact was

that the Brigade was put in moton & marched in close collum to the Creek, just as the fog brook away, when the whole park of the British artillery opened upon us at not more then 500 yards distent. finding we were halted I road forward to the head of the Brigade to enquire why we Stood there in that exposed Situation, but Nixon was not to be found & Col° Graton who commanded the Leading regiment, Said he had no ordors. I then advised croſing the Creek & covering the troops under the bank which was don. I then at the request of Col° Stevens, advanced with my regiment acroſs the plain, & posted them under cover of the bank of an old ſtockad fort, while Stevens advanced with two Field pecies to anoy the British who were attempting to take away Some covered wagons Standing about half way between us & the British Batery

we remained in this Sittuation about an hour when I had ordors to retreat — I found Nixon neer the Church and after Some debate I obtained Leve to Send a party & cut away the British Boats which Lay above the mouth of the Creek. Captains. Morse — Goodale — & Gates, with about 70. or 80 Volunteered them Selves on this Service which they effected without any Loſs — And here I Shall Leave on record my testimony of Major Godales [1] Caracter as an officer & Soldier — being the copy of a Letter I wrote to Gen[l] Waſhington —

MASSACHUSETTS HUTTS, June 9th 1783

Sir: —

"I do my Self the honor to encloſe a Letter I re-
"cived a few days Sence from Cap[t] Goodale of the

[1] Nathan Goodale, of Brookfield, Massachusetts, who emigrated to the Ohio country in the summer of 1788.

"5th Maſſachuſetts regiment — I confeſs I feal a con-
"victiọn of a neglect of duty in respect of this Gentle-
"man. that I have not till this moment taken any
"meaſures to bring his Services to public view, has
"been oweing to the confidence I had that General
"Gates would have don it, as the most extreordinary
"of them were performed under his orders, and as
"he gave repeated aſsurences they Should not be
"forgotten — I am Sorry that Genl Gates is now out
"of Camp, for were he not I Should appeal to him on
"the Subject but as I am ſure So worthy a character,
"and ſuch importent Servises ought not to be buried
"in oblivian, or paſs unrewarded, I beg your Excel-
"lencies patiance a few moments while I give a ſhort
"detale of them —

"Captain Goodle was among the first who em-
"barked in the common cause in 1775 — he Served
"that year as a Lieutennant in the Same regiment
"with me — I had long before known him to be a
"man of Spirit, & his probity & attention to Service
"Soon gained him the character of a worthy officer —

"In 1776 he entered again as a Lieutennant, but
"Served with me the most of the year as an aſsistent
"engineer & the public are much indebted to him for
"the dispatch and propriety with which Several of
"the works about New york were executed — in the
"dark month of November 1776 Mr Gooale entered
"Service as a Captain in the regiment under my com-
"mand & was in the field early the next Spring, but
"althoe he always discovered a thirst for enterprise
"yet fortune never gave his genius fair play till Au-
"gust 1777 — tis well known into what a pannic the
"country & even the Northern army were thrown on
"the takeing of Ticonderroga. —

"When General Gates took command in that quar-

"ter our army Lay at Vansiacks Island,[1] and M[r]
"Burgoyne with his black wyngs & painted Legions
"Lay at Saratoga. the woods were So infested with
"Savages, that for Some time none of the Scouts
"who were Sent out for the purpos of obtaining prif-
"oners, or intiligence of the enimies Sittuation Suc-
"ceeded in either — General Gates being vexed at
"continual disapointments desiered an officer to
"procure him a man that would undertake at all
"hazards to perform this Service. Cap[t] Goodale
"being Spook to voluntarily undertook the bufineſs
" under the following ordors from General Gates
" "Sir you are to chuse out one Serjent & Six pri-
" "vates, and proceed with them to the enimies camp,
" "unleſs you loose your life or are captured, & not
" "return untill you obtain a full knowledge of there
" "Situation"

"Cap[t] Goodal in his report of this Scout Sais, it
" "was not performed without great feteague, as the
" "party was much harrased by the Indians which
" "ocationed there being in the woods three days
" "without provisions" however he ſucceeded be-
"yond expectation, first throwing himſelf between
"there out guards, & there camp where he concealed
"his party untill he examined there Sittuation very
"fully, & then brought of Six prisoners, (which he
"took within there guards) with which he returned
"to Gen[l] Gates without any Loſs

"this Suceſs induced Gen[l] Gates to continue him
"on that kind of Service — a full detail of all the in-
"treagu, & addreſs which he discovered during the
"remainder of that campaign woul make my Letter
"quite too Long. it may be enough to obſerve that
"before the capture of the British army 121 prisoners

[1] Van Schaick's Island.

"fell into his hands. but as Capt Goodale is no leſs "brave & determined in the open field when opposed "to reguler troops then he is artfull as a partisan of "the woods, I beg your patience while I recite one "inſtence of this kind —

"A day or two after Mr Burgoiyne retreated to "Saratoga (in a foggy morning) Nixons Brigade "were ordored to croſs the Creek which Seperated "the two armies. Capt Goodale with 40 Volunteers "went over before the advance guard. he ſoon fell in "with a British Guard of about the Same number. "the ground was a clear plain, but the fogg pre- "vented there discovering each other till they were "within a few yards when both parties made ready "neerly at the Same time. Capt goodale in this poſi- "tion reſerving his fire, advanced imediately upon the "enemy, who waited with a deſign to draw it from "him. but he had the addreſs to intimidate them to "in Such a maner by threatning immediate death "any one that Should fire that not more then two "or three obeyed the ordor of there own officer when "he gave the word, the event was that the oficer & "34 of the Guard were made priſoners —

"Theſe Sir are the Services which Capt Goodale "& his frinds concive have meritted more attention "then have ben paid to them, and at Laest merit a "Majority as much as Major Sumners unſucceſsfull "command of a boate a few months on Lake Cham- "plain. — but if the tables are reversed & the ill Luck "of a brave man Should be the only recommenda- "tion to promotion, Capt Goodale I believe has as "great pretentions as most men — for he is the un- "fortunate officer, who commanded about 40 white "men and being joined by about the Same number "of Indians fought more then 1000 of the enemy be-

"below Voluntines hill in 1778 untill neer two thirds "were killed, himſelf & most of the rest made pris- "oners — but I mention this not So much to Show "his bravery, for he takes no merit from that action "he always Lemented the neceſsity he was under "from the ordors he received to do what he did. in "writeing to me on the ſubject he Sais "at this time ""a number of brave men were Sacrefised to bad ""ordors, but as they were not my ordors, I hope ""the candid do not cenſure me"

"having Stated theſe fact, I beg leve to request "your Excellency will Lay them before Congreſs" &c

General Washington forwarded my Letter to the Secretary of War, but as about this time Congreſs came to a reſolution to raise the Rank of all officers one grade who had not ben promoted Sence there entrence in to Service the First of January 1777 Major Goodale recived promotion with the rest, & thus never had that justice don him, which he So highly Merited —

the worthy Kusesko the famous Polander was at the head of the Engineer department in Gates army; we advised togather with reſpect to the works neceſsery to be thrown up for the defence of the Camp but he had the over Sight in executing them. I therefore have no claim to extra Service this year, nor did I recive any perticuler notice from Gen[l] Gates. after the capture of Burgoyne Nixsons Brigade went into Winter Quarters at Albany —

1778 Some time in January (I believe) I was requested by Gen[l] Putnam & Govenor Clinton to repair to West point to Superintend the Fortifications proposed to be erected there. my answer was that I could not consent to go unleſs my regiment went

with me, or that I Should not leave my regiment without the expreſs ordors of Gen[l] Waſhington. —

there had ben a French Engineer Sent to Lay out & Superintend the fortifications proposed to be erected at West point, but his plans were intirely disapproved of by Govenor Clinton & the General officers, and hence aroſe the confusion & delay mentioned in General Waſhingtons Letter to Congreſs of the 17[th] of March 1778 —

Feb[y] 1[st] 1778 I succeeded to the command of the troops in the Northen deparpment by the departure of Col[o] Graton to Viſit his family. the ordors which he left me were no other then a copy of the ordors of Congreſs directing the commanding officer at Albany, to forward Stores of Various kinds to Co,os — five regiments beſide Nixons Brigade were to hold them Selves in readineſs for the invasion of Cannada, & all to Randezvouse at Onion river by the 20[th] of February, except Col[o] Bedles regiment who was to March by the way of Co,os — & Sixty days provisions for three thousand men. I did not thank Col[o] Graton for Sliping his neck out of this difficulty. I was Sensible it was totaly impoſsible, with naked men in a deep Snow to acomplish any part of the plan. however as far as depended on me it was my duty to obay ordors — Col[o] Hazen who was appointed Q—r M. G Soon arrived. he required a detachment to Set out imediately to open a roade. I denied him on the ground of the depth of the Snow, the inclemency of the Season & the destitute Situation of the men with reſpect to Cloathing

about the 10[th] or 12[th] of February, the Marquis. de la Fayette arrived, who was to command the expidition, togather with the Baron de Kalb — (Gen[l] Conway had arrived before them)

on the arrivel of the Marques the troops were reviewed by him, & everery enquiery made which he thought neceſsary to form an opinion on the Subject, & finally the expidition was Laid aſide — — — the "plan" Sais Marſhal "was matured in Congreſs, and "the board of war, without conſulting the Commander "in chief" See Voll — 3 page 345 —

Sometime in the month of March I was ordored with my regiment down to west point, and when I came there I found the object to be what I Suspected. viz to Lay out and Superintend the Fortifications neceſary to be conſtructed there for the defence of that importent post —

General M°Dougal arrived there about the Same time to take the command — — my French Brother Engineer, whith whome Govenor Clinton & General Putnam had Quereled was gon & his Fort marked out on the extreme point next the river & commanded by the adjacent high ground was abandoned. a Battery at this place to anoy the Shiping in case they Should come up & attempt to turn the point & force the Boom was Judged Sufficient, and for a defence against an attack by Land, a number of Small works or chain of Forts & Redouts, were Laid out on the high grounds bordering the plain, which forms the point. one in perticuler built by my own regiment & by Gen[l] M°Dougal named Fort Putnam — is on a high hill, or rather rock, which commands the plane & point. the rock on the Side next the point is not difficult to assend but on the other Side where the fort Stands the rock is 50 feet perpendiculer. this Fort was after wards much improved & is capable of being made a very Strong place — —

I remained at West point untill Some time in June, when I joined the army under Genera Gates neer

Peekskill — this army formed a juntion with the grand army at White plains, the 23d or 24th of July — — While the army Lay at White plains I did no extra duty except that by the ordor of the Commander in Chief I explored the country about Fradericſburgh Quaker hill &c &c

the army left White plains the 16th of September & the Several divisions took different poſitions, that of Genl Gates, in which I was were posted at Danbury in Connecticut, Nixſons Brigade Lay for a time at Woodbury. I was directed by Genl MºDougal to examin the Roads & paſses from New Millford Leading eastward which having attended to in part I made my report to him. Soon after I recived the following Letter from Genl Waſhington —

"HEAD QUARTERS 9th of October 1778

Sir

"I have perused your report of this day to Genl "MºDougal you will continue your examination of "the different roads and reconnoiter the most con- "venient halting places on each alowing the intervel "of one days march from one to the other, & make "report of the whole to me, that I may be enabled "to regulate the different routs —

"The road towards Litchfield offers from your ac- "count of it to be worth attention, & Colº Hale "Should be directed to proceed on it accordingly — —

I am Sir

Your obedient Servent

Gᵉ WASHINGTON

Colº PUTNAM

the following is the report I made on that ocation

FREDERICKSBURGH October 15th 1778

"Dear General

"Imediately after writeing to Genl M°Dougal "on the 9th inſtent — I Set out for Major Grosvenors "party on the road to Farmington (by Woodbury, "& Waterbury, & returned yesterday to New Mil- "ford, (by Litchfield) where Col° Hale delivered me "your Excellencies Letter of the 9th instent had I "recived this Letter before I Seet out from Lt Col° "Hales Camp I Should have ben more perticuler "in Noteing the most convenient halting places — "however I did attend to this circumstance ſo much, "that I believe the following report has no errors "meterial to the Service —

"From the Park, by head Quarters, to Deacon "Galers 13 mile. good Stage for encamping, Wood, "Water, & Forage —

"then to Shawam river 12 mile. paſsing Newmilford "at 7 convenient for halting &c —

"then to Woodbury 9 mile. no ſupply of forrage "between

"then to Waterbury 10 mile. very Little forage "between.

"From thence to Southington Meeting house 11 "mile. Forage, and I believe wood in the neighbor- "hood of this place.

"then to Farmington 9 mile wood Water & forag "plenty before entering the town. — on this rout the "road is very good 20. mile to New Milford the hills "very few & of easy assent — from thence to Wood- "bury very hilly but otherwise tollerable — the "Shawam river is about 40 feet wide, has no bridge, "& in Low water the ford is rather deep, and sence "the Late rains would wet the bagage in wagons. "I am told there is a bridge about one mile above

"paſsable only for footmen — from Woodbury to wa-
"terbury, the road is ruff, but not very wet — from
"thence 7 mile is rockey & wet. on this part I Left
"Major Grosvenor at work on monday Last, (from
"whence he will repair the road back again to New
"Milford) the roads from this to Farmington need-
"ing no repair, Major Grosvenor within two or three
"days will be at Shawam river, —

I would ſuggest whether it will not be best to build
"a Bridge at that place, which would be Soon
"effected, provided the town of Woodbury were
"requested to aſsist with ox teams and timber, and
"eight or ten carpenters ordored to join Major gros-
"venor —

"From New Milford by Litchfield to Farmington,
"Wood, water, & forage may be had in any place,
"within a mile or two one way or the other, untill
"you are past Herington within 12 mile of Farm-
"ington. part of this 12 mile is very bad road,
"needs much repair, and the meadows going into
"Farmington utterly impaſsabell for footmen at this
"time on account of the Late freshet, So that in the
"present Sittuation the rout by Woodbury to Farm-
"ington is much the best —

"If a Collum Should march by Springfield, the
"best rout for carrages is by New Mlford, Litch-
"field, Herington, Symsbury, Suffield & then Spring-
"field —
"on this rout, Mount Tom, 6 mile on this side Litch-
"field is the only hill that is very bad —

"L^{t} Col^{o} Hale is going on to repair the road from
"New Milford to Litchfield, which will take him five
"or Six days —

"The party that was ordored by Bulls Iron works
"have don very Little —

"If Col° Hale is to repair the road from Litch-
"field to Farmington, or to Symsbury, the rout to
"Springfield, it will be necessary he Should have
"further ordors, otherwise I preſume he will Stop at
"Litchfield —
"Gen[l] WASHINGTON I am &c

By General Waſhingtons Letter to Congreſs of the 27[th] of November 1778 it appears that the Several cantoonments of the Army for the Winter had ben fixed on, — previous to this at the request of General Greene the Qr-M General I made a tour with him for that purpos through Several diſtricts, perticulerly about the North river &c —

Late in December Gen[l] Nixsons Brigade arrived on the ground aſsigned them for Hutting in the highlands, on the road from Peaks kill to Fishkill —

Gen[l] Nixson Left the Brigade while at Woodbury in Connecticut & Col° Graton Soon after our arrivel on the Ground for Hutting, So that as Last Winter the command of the Brigade fell again on me
1779 — about the First of February, the Brigade were ordored to Leave there Quarters. Gratons tok post at Crom pond, Nixons at Vanplanks point. I was ordored down to Colla-beargh, with my regiment, to build a Bridge over Croton river. the Command was agreable, & the troops well accommodated in Houſes — but it was extra Sevice when the work was compleated, about the Letter end of March I had Leave of absence to visit my Family which I had not Seen Sence December 1777 — — —

June 1[st] 1779 Fort Fayette on Vanplank point was taken by the British. See — Marſhalls L of W Voll 4 page 58.
I returned to Camp Some time in June & in a few

days after recived the follow ordors from Gen[l] Heath. —

"HIGHLANDS DANFORTHS HOUSE June 29[th] 1779

"Sir

I am very defirous if pofsible to obtain the exact "fituation of the enemy on Vanplanks point & of the "Vessels in the river. as you are well acquainted "with the Ground on both Sides of the river, I would "request that you would to morrow, reconnoiter the "enemy with due precaution, and make Such remarks "as you may think proper. you will take a part, or "the whole of your own Light Company as a guard.[1] "your knowledge of the country & abilities render "perticular inftructions unneceſsary" &c &c

yours &c

W[M] HEATH

Col[o] PUTNAM

to execute this ordor I had to March through the mountains neer 20 miles in an unfrequented rout to prevent discovery & lie concealed in the woods untill I had effected the object which was effected but report has ben lost or mislade, that is the Copy —

"Colonel Putnam has permifsion to take as many "men as he chueses of his own regiment, or any "other for Special Services — and to pafs all "Guards —

"July 9[th] 1779 — G[r] WASHINGTON

The Service here intended was to examin the enimies works on Vanplanks point — I Set out from

[1] Omitted in General Putnam's transcription: —

"which you will request of General Nixon, and proceed down the River in Boats. If you think the best view can be had from the Dunderberg, you will land at or near Fort Montgommery — "

conſtitution Island, opposit West point, in the afternoon of the 10th with 50 men & reached Continantal Village about Sunset and after dark I proceeded by a back road to a point where I concealed my party in the woods, intending the next morning to examin the works, but Soon after we halted a very heavy rain Set in which continued all night, & all the next day. the morning after we concealed our Selves in a barn. the next morning July 12th was fair but our arms and amunition were So wet that they were intirely uſeleſs. I retired to a deserted house, were we built fires, brook up our Catrages dryed what powder was not wholey destryed, & cleaned our arms, many of which we were obliged to unbritch.—

We were in this disarmed & defenceleſs State from early in the morning untill the midle of the afternoon.

apprehensive the enemy might have got knowledge from Some of the inhabitence, who probably must have Seen us I marched the party directly along the great road (in Sight of the enmies block house) towards Peaks kill, and when at a convenient place I turned into the woods again, where I concealed the party untill toward morning, when I took them onto the Ground neer to where I posted myſelf to take obſervations, which having compleated I returned July 13th to Camp —

July 14th I went up to New Windsor & made my report to General Waſhington [1] —

Marſhall in his L. of W. Voll 4 — page 70 — tells us that "Two Brigades under the command of "Genl McDougal had ben ordored to aproach the "enimy on the east Side of the rver" this ordor to McDougal, if ever given, I preſume was given on the

[1] Page 137.

morning of the 15th, for the following reaſons. when I waited on General Washington on the 14th, to make my report, he informed me that he had relinquished the idea of a real attac on Vanplanks point at the ſame time it was to be made on Stoney point, but intended the attac on that point Should be only a faint, and for that purpos he had ordored Nixons Brigade to march that day to Continanntal village — he then inſtructed me to take as many men from that Brigade as I thought proper, & make my arrangements to be on the Ground ready to fire on the enemy at Vanplanks point the moment I found Wayne had attacked Stoney point. at the Same time the General informed me that no one kew of the intended attack but those who had the charge of its execution, that but one of his own family was let into the Secret — I had not the Lest doubt, but the Brigade had Marched that afternoon but when I returned to the camp (after Sunset) I found them Still there. on enquiring the reason why they had not Marched, Nixon told me he had obtained leave from Genl M°Dougal to delay his march, & on enquiring what time he would march in the Morning he informed me he Should Send on a Guard of 50 men according to his engagement to Genl M°Dougal. I was excedingly perplexed to know how to act. on the whole I told him I was charged with executing a Special Service & requested him to increase the detachment to 100 men under the command of a Feld officer, & that they Should march very early in the Morning to continantal Village —

July 15th General Waſhington came down early to West point, & Col° Tillman came to the Island to enquire why Nixsons Brigade had not marched the day before. I gave him an account of what I had

ben don, & Soon after Set out after the detachment which had marched under the command of L^{t} Colonel Smith: I remained at the village untill night, & then made Such arrangments as I thought proper to fulfill the intention of the General. — as Soon as I Saw that Wayne had commenced his attack on Stoney point we fiered on there out Block house, & guard at the creek & thus alarmed the Garrison on Vanplanks point, which was the only object contemplated for that night. — —

July 16th I remaind this morning in full view of the enimy untill eight or nine oClock — when I marched up to continantal village, where in the course of the day, Nixsons & Pattesons Brigades arrived but without there Feld peaces artillerymen or ſo much as an ax or Spade, or any ordors what they were to do — about 10 oClock at night General How arrived, to take the command. he called on me for information. I told him the troops had brought no artillery with them, which in my opinion was Neceſsary on account of a Block which Stood in the way of our approach to the main work on the point. Nor had they brought any axes, or entrenching tools, & that it was impoſsible to croſs the Creek without rebuildinging the bridge which had ben deſtroyed —

July 17th Sometime about the midle of the day two twelve pounders arrived, and a few axes were collected I believe from the inhabitents and a Bridge was begun, or proposed to be bugun. I cannot Say how far the preparations had advanced before we were allaramed by the advance of a British party by the way of Croton, on which we retreated —

These are the facts which fell within my own knowledge reſpecting the movements made against Vanplanks point. — Marſhalls repreſentation of the

delays, implies a heavey cenſure on Gen[l] M[c]Dougal. for acording to him, Gen[l] M[c]Dougal was *perſonally* with two Brigades "ordored to approach the enimy "on the east Side of the river So as to be in readi- "neſs to attempt the work on Vanplank[s]" and that in this Sittuation Wayns Meſsenger was to find him, and again that "Gen[l] How was ordored to take the command of Gen[l] M[c]Dougal's detachment" — now as Gen[l] McDougal Never did March with the detachment, and General How was afterwards (acording to Marſhall) ordored to take the command, it follows, if this Statement be correct General M[c]Dougal must be highly cenſuerable, but I believe this to be very incorrect — — I believe Gen[l] M[c]Dougal never was ordored to march with those two Brigades. my reaſons are these. first I know him So well that had he ben ordored to March, he certainly would have obeyed — again had he disobeyed Such an ordor, no doubt but he would have ben arested, & we Should have haeard of it

But what is much more, it must be remembred that Gen[l] M[c]Dougal was at that very time Commander in chief of West point and its dependencies — and can any man having any knowledge of that place & of the high importence with which it was conſidered by the Commander in chief believe that he would have ordored Gen[l] M[c]Dougal to leave that importent post & March to attack Van plank point. I believe not — General Waſhington could not commit Such an error — —

I Supose the fact to be this, that on the morning of the 15[th] when General Waſhington came down to West point, as before noted, he ordored Gene[l] M[c]Dougal to detach, Nixsons & Patterſons Brigades to the continental villege, & that General Waſhington

expected they would reach it that Same evening, which I believe they did not however they must have left the point on the 15th or they could not have arrived at the villege So Soon as they did on the 16th—

but why they came without any artillery, axes, & intrenching tools, or any Comding General, or ordors how to employ them ſelves are qustions I am not able to Solve—

in a few days afthe this buſineſs was over I was apointed to the Command of a Regiment of Light Infentry. the whole corps consisted of 4 Regiments of 2 Battallions each, the whole Commanded by General Wayne—in this Corps I continued untill the army Went into Winter Quarters the December following. indeed our Corps did not break up camp untill January 1780—when my regiment had a very tedious march from Second river neer Newark in the Jerſies to there Quarters at West point, the High Lands &c——

I was ordored on but two peaces of extra Service during my continuence in the Light infentry Corps—

one was in august, by ordor of General Waſhington, to erect a Batterry at the place of old Fort Gommery for the anouence of Ships coming up the river—&

December 14th I made a tour by ordor of Genl Wayne to South Amboy,[1] having an officer & eight Dragoons to attend me, for the purpos of reconnoitering a British fleat that Lay there, and to aſsertain if poſsible the time of there Sailing this was a tedious Cold jorney & Somwhat arduous. we were obliged to return by the way of New Brunswck—

[1] Page 141.

1780 January — Some time about the Last of this month, I had leve of absence to vifit my family, and returned to Camp about the midle of April, and I find by my corispondenc with General How, that I was on command about Croton river &c as early as the 6th of May, & continued out to the 27th of July — this kind of Servis, in one Sence is Not properly etra, because every officer is Liable to be detailed, to perform it as a tour of duty, however in another Sence it may properly be called Extra, becaus it is far mre feteauging Slavish, hazardous, & requiring much Greater vigilence, then the common rotean duty performed with the army, besides the commanding officer of Such a detachment is Generally if not always appointed Specially to his command, by the General, & hence it is always efteamed very honorable. how far I discharged my duty while on this Service, with honor to my Self & Satisfaction to my General, the Letters between General How & my Self will Show, if confulted [1] — —

about the time I was releaved, the Grand army crofsed the North river & encamped first at orangtown, then at the English Neighbourhood, &c & —

about the first of october I had Leave of abfence & did not join the army again untill the end of Campaign viz. about the first of December. —

1781–July 6th The French army under count De Rochambeau formed a juntion with American army, Neer Dobbs Ferry —

august 19th the French army, & that part of the American army distinated for Virginia commenced crofsing the North river and on the 21st Genl Heath issued ordors of which the following are extracts —

[1] Pages 147–177.

"HEAD QUARTERS NEER YOUNGS, august 21st 1781

"three hundred rank & file, Infentry, properly of-
"fiered Colo Sheldens Legionary Corps, Capt Sack-
"ets & Capt Ritlium [?] Companies, of New York
"Livies, are to form a detachment to cover this part
"of the country, in front of the Army — Colo Putnam
"will take the command of this detachment untill
"further orders —

"Captain Donal, will give one of his three pound-
"ers futably Maned, for Colo Putnams detachment"

on this command I was keept out, untill Late in october or the begining of November the persise time I cannot affertain, as I keept no journal, & a part of the Letters which pafsed between us being Lost, however enough remain on file to Show Somthing of the nature of the Service I was performing, & how far my conduct was approved by Genl Heath[1] —

while I was on this Command I was honored with A Letter from Genl Waterbury of which the following are Extracts —

"HORSENECK September 13th 1781

"Sir. after my complements I would inform you, that
"I have recived ordors from his Excellency Govenor
"Trumbull, to build Some places of Security for my
"troops to winter in, and at the Same time he would
"recommend it to me, to ask the favor of you to Lend
"your afsistence in counceling with me where it is
"best to build," &c[2]

[1] Pages 183–198.

[2] Omitted in General Putnam's transcription: —

"Sd place of Security for the Winter that Shall Sarve Best for the publick Good and for the Security of the troops in General: & you may Be asured I Shold take It as a Great favour If I Cold obtain your Judgement in the mator and hope I Shall have the pleasure of Seeing you in a Day or to If Nothing Extraordinary prevents — and am Dear Coll With Great Esteme

Yours to Sarve

DAVID WATERBURY —

Coll PUTMAN—"

I made the tour agreable request &c —

A few days after I joined my regiment at West point, I recived the following ordor from Gen[l] M[c]Dougal —

WEST POINT November 14[th] 1781 —

Sir

"General M[c]Dougal requests you to repair to "Stoney & Vanplanks points, and examin minutly "into there State in every reſpect — the Sentry boxes "at those advanced works Should be deſtroyed — "every building within cannon range of either of "those posts, and any cover that would aford a Lodg- "ment for the enemy must be taken down & removed "before you leave the ground.

"you will please to have the Garisons paraded, "and note every person and the regiments they be- "long to, unfit for this Service"[1] &c

This was the Last, Extra Military Service which I was ordored on, that I Shall mention — —

But there were Some other Services which I was called too which tend to Show in what estemation my character was, with my Brother officers in General, in other reſpects not Military which I Shall now take Notice of — —

[1] Omitted in General Putnam's transcription: —

"Eſtimate what quantity of *wood* will be neceſsary for each Garrison, making a propor allowance for cooking in the trenches, from the 1[st] of December, to the 1[st] of April next. Determin what number of fireplaces will be neceſsary for the Ferry men, and the Q: Master M[r] Kiree [?], and calculate for wood, for them upon the ſame ſcale as you do for the Garrisons — If there ſhould be a ſurpluſage of wood at the Posts give an order on them, to the Q. Master for the ſupply of his department —

Report to the General on your return what ever ſhall appear neceſsary

By command of Gen[l] M[c]Dougall

Col[o] PUTNAM E. HASKELL

Di A. G"

"At a meeting of the field & other officers in Gen[l]
"Nixons Brigade September 9[th] 1778
"Col[o] Rufus Putnam was Unanimously chosen
"Representative to meet in a general convention of
"the army, to State our Grievances to the honorable
"continantal Congreſs, & endevor to obtain redreſs
"of the Same
"per order of the Meeting
"THOMAS NIXON Col[o] Moderator

My Letter on file, to Deacon Davis of Boston dated March 21 1779, will Show what exertions I made to prevent a Muteny breaking out in the Maſsachuſetts Line, and claim on the State, in behalf of the Soldier for relief — in that letter is inclosed the Muteny articls. the time fixed for the Brigade to march of in a body was the 10[th] of February. beſides the meaſures taken with them as detailed in my Letter to Deacon Davis, I took the further precaution to make a confidential communiation of the afair to Gen[l] M[c]Dougal & made a request that he would ordor the Several regiments, each to occupy a Seperate post toward New york. this request he complied with, and thus it was put out of there power to execute the plan they had formed, or at lest not So well as they might have don had they remained to gather in there Hutts —

In page 115 [86] I have mentioned that in January 1780 I had leve of absence & returned in April to Camp —

in this period a Large portion of my time was Spent in Boston, Soliciting the General Court to grant Some releaf to the Maſachuſetts line of the army, and eſpecially for the oficers, priſoners on Long Island. for them a Small releif was obtained, for which I had

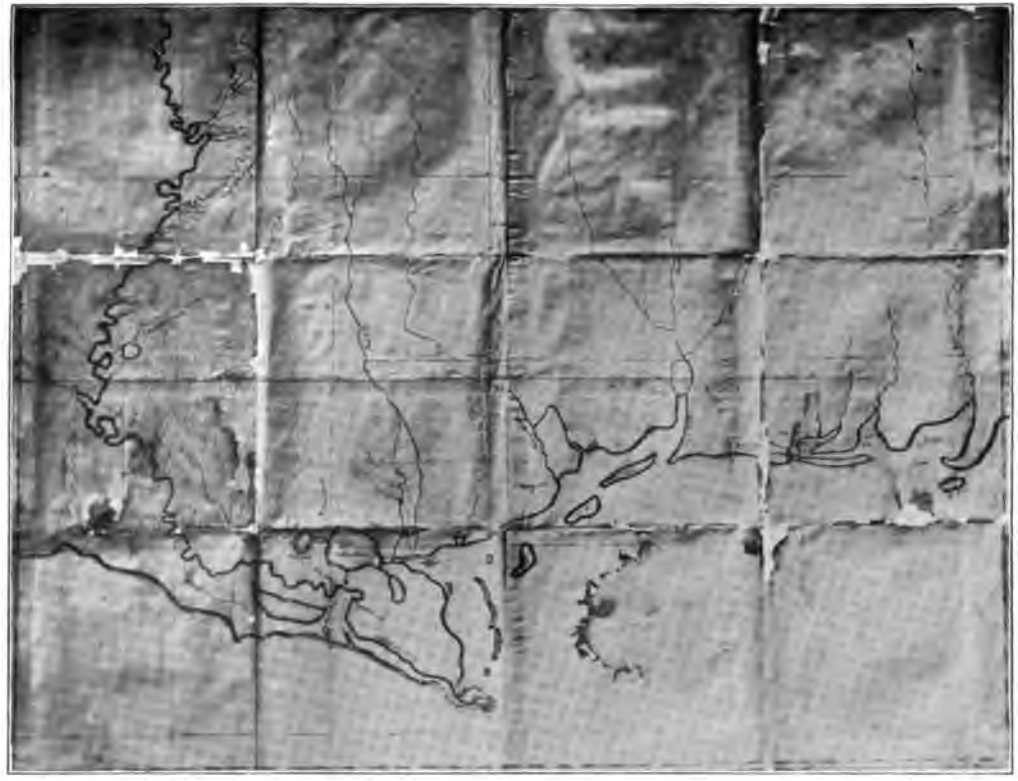
there thanks for the aſsistence I had given there agent — See Col° Thompsons Letter dated at Long Island May 1 — 1780[1] — but for the troops in General northing was don to purpos — or that gave the Committe of the army Satisfaction —, therefore neere the cloſe of the year the Line of officers united in apointing a Committe to repair to Boston, & lay there Complaints before the General aſsembly.[2] they alſo apointed a Committe to inſtruct them —theſe inſtructions Shew ſo fully the claims of the army at that time, I Shall record them, that posterity may Judge — they are as follows —

" Gentlemen

" having chosen you to appear in our " behalf at the General Aſsembly of Maſsachusetts " Bay, with them to Settle our accounts of pay " cloathing &c we think it equally our duty as it is " our right, to Give you Inſtructions reſpecting the " tranſactions there to be had: This we do, not " because we doubt your understanding abilities or " Integrity, our choice of you fully evinces the con- " trary of that, but for your own ſatisfaction & justi- " fication =

" The Settlement made with us the Last year, we " apprehend to be Merely a partial one not only as " to the ſettlement itſelf, but the mode in which it " was don, as it was not consented to by our then " Committe — you will therefore have that to revise " — But there are certain preliminaries to be ſettled " before you proceed even to that, which we recom- " mend and enjoin on you, as conditions without " which you proceed not on the buſineſs committed " to you —

[1] Page 146. [2] Page 182.



THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER, 1773

"1st the town bounties given to the Soldiers, are
"not to be deducted from there pay and where this
"is or has been don Said bounty must be refunded.
"this is just if we only ſimply conſider they were
"promised their pay, & there bounty was given them
"as an encouragement to Inlist, not as a part of there
"pay advanced — —
"2ly The time of reciving our pay, not the time when
"it became due (monthly) must be the period at
"which the rate of depreciation must be diterminded,
"& your calculations made accordingly. This is just
"& reaſonable, otherwise we Loose by those delay of
"payments, which our perſeverance in the cause of
"our country forbad us to complain of & resent —
"3d the extra pay allowed to officers in the Line
"doing duty on the ſtaff, must be made good to them,
"upon the Same principles, & for the Same reasons,
"as there pay as officers in the line only; where
"it may be disputed whether the Quantum of extra
"pay reſpectively allowed ſuch officers was ment to
"be good money, you may have recourse to the Late
"reſolves of Congreſs reſpecting Said extra pay,
"which will be to you an indiputable guide — Theſe
"preliminaries thus Settled you will proceed to ad-
"justing an equel Scale of Depreciation for the pre-
"ſent year — You will pointedly repreſent to the
"aſsembly the Great inconveniences & Loſses,
"accrued, & accruing to great part, nay almost the
"whole of both officers & Soldiers from the notes
"we recived the Last year, not being negotiable in
"any maner, for any kind of property, on which
"account many were for want of almost every kind
"of cloathing, obliged to Sell there notes at a very
"great discount, from there nominal value when
"given: and by this representation you will endevor

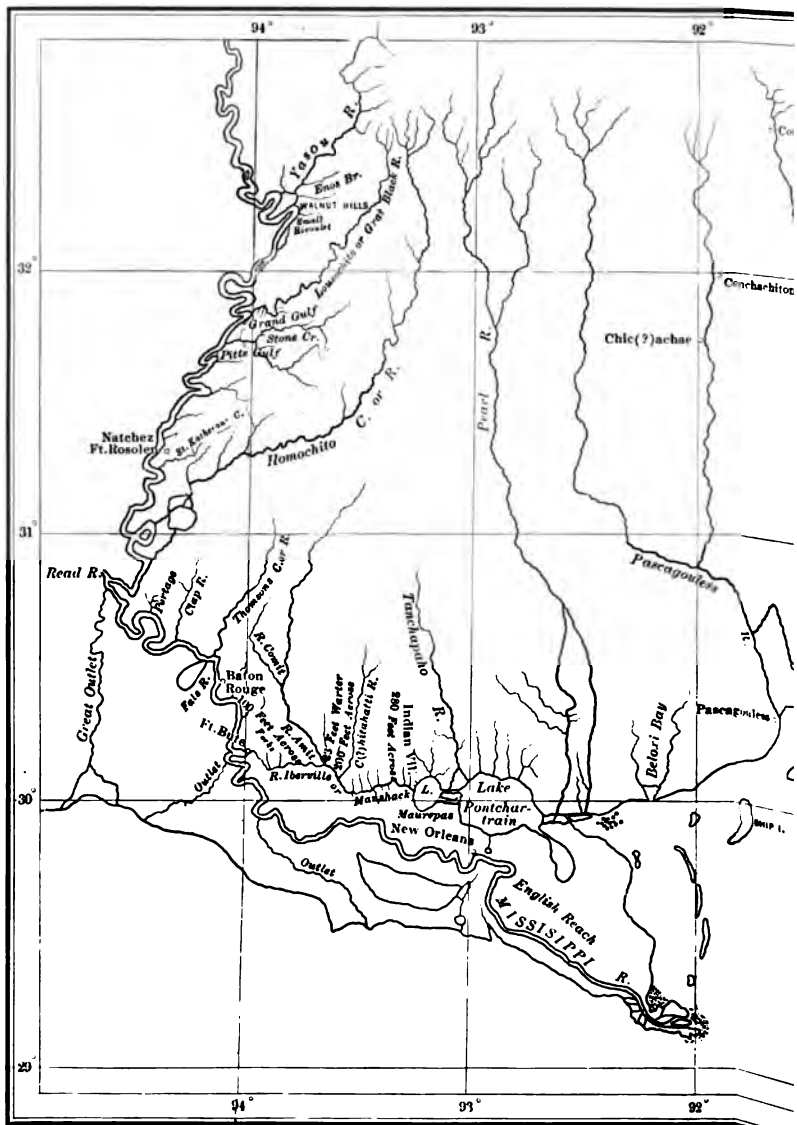
"to procure an act that will make the notes already,
"and those that ſhall be given a tender for the con-
"fiscated estates when Sold, or that will in Some way
"equally be benificial to the army & the State, make
"them of ſuch value that those who wish it may
"convert them into current money without Loſs —

"You will not on any account agree to our being
"charged with any articles of cloathing, or indeed
"anything else recived from the continant, except
"our monthly pay, unleſs we are credited, for all
"deficiences of ſubsistence, rations & parts of rations
"— nor will you agree to avarage the charge of
"cloathing delivered by the ſtate for the Several re-
"giments, but each officer must be charged for the
"cloathing himself recived. and in case any officer
"has drawn cloathing he has not delivered acording
"to the design for which he drew it, he alone must
"be acountable, except in caſes where ſuch officer
"makes it appear, that the Loſs of any in his hands
"was inevitable. then, & then only, we agree to have
"ſuch Loſs averaged.

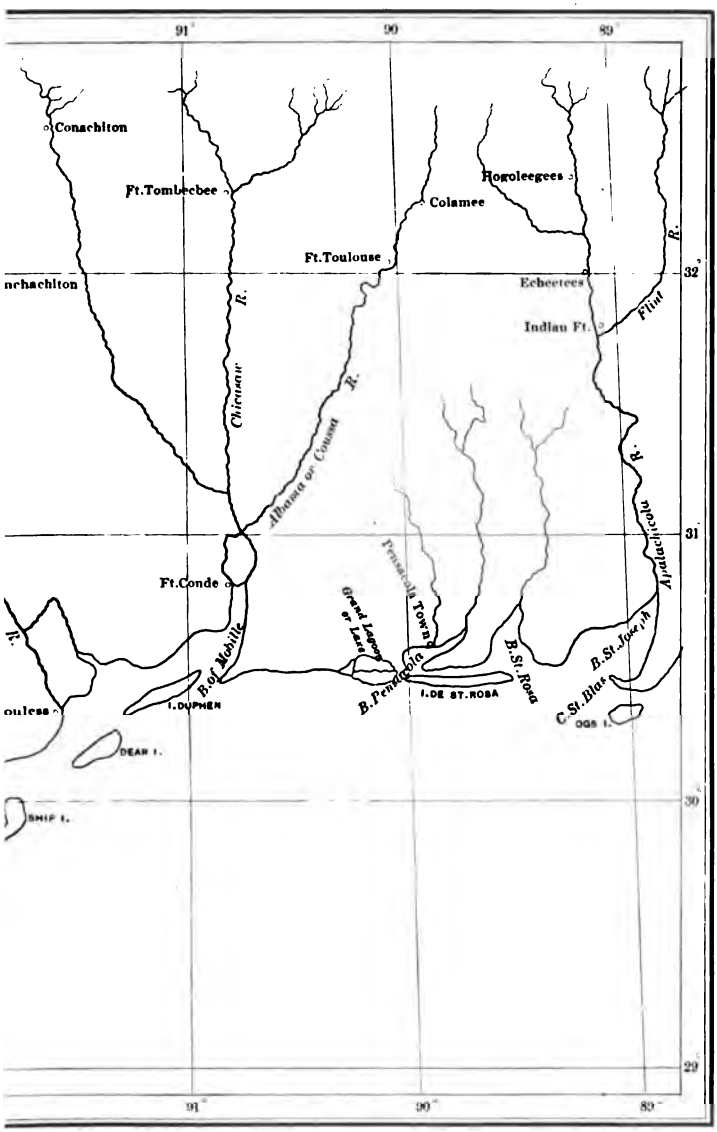
"You will alſo endever to fall upon Such plan, or
"mode of delivering cloathing, to the officers as will
"prevent an unequel & partial delivery, to perticuler
"regiments, or individuals, who may by there Local
"Sittuation have it in there power to make the earli-
"est application. —

"A like equel & just plan reſpecting both the
"delivery and charge of the Small ſtores, you will
"do well to agree on —

"Theſe general principles we think ſufficient to di-
"rect you in the whole of the buſineſs you have ben
"pleased to undertake in our behalf, a buſineſs we
"know to be attended with much difficulty & trouble:
"but of this you may be aſsured, that the greater the



KEY TO RUFUS PUTNAM'S MAP OF
RIVER



AP OF LOWER MISSISSIPPI
R

"Sacrefise you make of your private ease & pleaſure "to ſerve us the Greater will be our obligations to "you —

"Confideing thoroughly in your Good will & abili- "ties to discharge the duties required of you, we leve "to you to deduce from theſe general principles, rules "for your more perticuler conduct not doubting but "the whole you Shall agree to will give us ample "Satisfaction —

"West point Jan^{y} 1st 1781.

To the Hon^{bs} Brigadier Gen^{l} Glover
Col^{o} Putnam
L^{t} Col^{o} C^{d} Brooks
Col^{o} H Jackson —

"Signed by ordor of the officers of the Maſachuſetts Line"

Committee
J. Graton Coll —
Sam^{el} Darby Maj^{r}
S : Larned
T Ewards

In the proſecution of this buſineſs, I left West point Sometime in January 1781. Spent most of the winter & part of the Spring in Boston on the objects of our Miſsion —

on our arrival in Boston the alarm given, by the Grand Mutany in the Pennſylvania & New Jerſey Lines, had Such a powerfull effect on the minds of the General aſsembly, that they ſoon agreed and in a ſhort time actually Sent on Specia to the amount of one, or two, months pay for there line of the army. this was a great releaf to officers & Solders. what further ſucceſs we had I do nit recollect, nor it is meterial to my purpos, my object being to leave an evidence of my ſtanding with my Brother officers in general — —

1782 the State of New york having applied to Congreſs for pay for the Forrage conſumed by the allied army, in West Chester county while encamped

neer Doobs Ferry in 1781, I was appointed one of the Commiſioners on that buſineſs I find by the papers on file that we were appointed in Februar 14th 1782, & our report is dated July 2d. this was not military Service, but it was a buſineſs of great dificulty to investigate — & Shewes in what light my character then ſtood with Genl Heath & Govenor Clinton, who made the appointment — — — —

Some time after the buſineſ of the West chester forrage was ſettled I had Leave of absence, & while at home, in September or octobe I Learned that Congreſs had it in contemplation to reduce the army. I was grown tiered of the Service, for besides my fealings in common with my Brother officers, as depected by Genl Waſhing in his confidential Letter to the Secretary of War See M — L — W Voll 4 page 524, I Say besides theſe circumſtancs in common with others — the Maſsachuſetts Line had ben ill treated with reſpect to the Brigadier Generals of the line not being appointed as the vacancies to place Genl Learned reſigned Soon after the capture of Burgoyn, & Nixon in 1780 Neither of which vacancies had ben filled. Graton & Shepard Ranked before me, therefore I had no right to complain for my ſelf, & from there past conduct I had no reaſon to expect they would aſsert there claim, or reſigne —— hence I concluded to quit the Service, if I could with honor — & in purſuence of this reſolution, I made an agreement with Lt Col Commdant Brooks, one of the youngest officer in the Line, commanding a regiment, & who of course expected to be deranged, that he Should remain, & I Should retire, which mode of exchange had ben heretofore alowed. under theſe circumſtance I did not return to the army untill after I recived the following Letters —— viz. Extract from Brigadier Genl Patterſon Letter

"CAMP NEW WINDSOR December 1st 1782 —

"Dear Sir

"your favor of the 25th ultimo by Colo Brooks was "duely recived, and althoe I can concive the ſittuation "and diagreable circumſtances of your family oca- "tioned by your continuence in the army, yet I can- "not but regreat your reſolution to retire, and hope "on the receipt of this with the enclosure, you will "alter your determinations —

"your Letters on the ſubject of retiring have ben "handed to the Commander in chief, but they were "not addreſsed to him, and prior to the receipt of "them the reſolve of Congreſs enclosed arrived. it is "impoſsible you can be deranged except by taking "the ſteps pointed out in the reſolution &c, perticulerly "when you are informed that on the 29th ultimo our "friend Colo Shepard *reſigned*, and in a few days "purpoſes to Leave camp. this procedure of his, was "in consequence of his being disappointment in his "expetation of preferment —

"you will be considered as an officer in the Line "untill we recive further directions from the Com- "mander in chief. the ſooner you ſignefy your wishes "&c, the better, for it is ſupposed that if you perſist "in your first reſolution, Lt Col Smith who has gon "home, will be called for again, to reaſsume his "former command. —

"Colo Shepards retireing by permiſsion of his "Exelency, you percive gives Colo Brooks his regi- "ment *again*, & Leaves no vacancy, unleſs you "return, which cannot be filled at Lest not untill the "first of Jany next, — vide the reſolve of Congreſs "dated 20th November 1782 —"[1]

[1] Omitted in General Putnam's transcription: —

"I dare say you will find no difficulty in obtaining leave of absence for

Letter from General Waſhington — follows —

"Head Quarters NEW BURGH December 2d 1782

Sir

"I am informed you have had thoughts of retire-
"ing from ſervice, upon the arangement which is to
"take place on the 1st of January — but as there will
"be no opening for it, unleſs your reaſons ſhould be
"very urgent indeed, and as there are Some proſ-
"pects which may prehaps make your continuing
"more eligible then was expected, I have thought
"proper to mention the circumſtances, in expectation
"they might have Some influence in inducing you to
"remain in the army.

"Colo Shepard having retired, and Brigadier Genl
"Patterſon being appointed to the command of the
"1st Brigade, you will of consequence be the Sec-
"ond Colo in the Line, and have the command of
"a Brigade, while the troops continue Brigaded as
"at preſent —

"beſides I consider it expedient you Should be
"acquainted, that the question is yet before Con-
"greſs whether there ſhall be two Brigadiers ap-
"pointed in the Maſsachuſetts Line. — Should you
"continue you will be a candidate for this promotion

the winter, as Lt. Colo. Newhall and Major Ashley were both at home the last year.

"General Washington, I suppose, will write you by this conveyance, and Colo. Brooks also.

"I cannot supply you with any intelligence — only the enemy in N York seem to be *very busy;* persons who know more of their movements than me, think an evacuation of that city not far off.

"Our hutts, which are allowed on all hands to be the best erected this war, will be ready for the reception of the men in a week —

"I am, dear Colonel, with the most fincere esteem and unalterable regard,

your friend and humble ſervant,

J PATERSON.

Colo PUTNAM"

"— the Secretary at war is of opinion the promotion "will ſoon take place; whether it will or not I am "not able to ditermin, and therefore I would not flat- "ter you too much with expectations, which it is not "in my power to Gratify. — but if upon a view of "theſe circumſtances & prospects the ſtate of your "afairs will permit you to continue in the preſent "arrangment, (which must be compleated imediately) "it will be very ageable to Sir,

your Moſt obedient Servent

G° WASHINGTON

Col° PUTNAM

on the receipt of theſe Letters, I repaired imediately to Camp, but being ditermined not to live in a ſort of disgrace, as Graton & Shepard had, by Congreſs neglecting to promote them when the vacancies took place —, I wrote the following Letter to Gen[l] Waſhington

"CAMP NEER NEW WINDSOR December 17th 1782

Sir

"Your favor of the 2[d] instent came to hand the "9th. I beg leave to aſsure your Excellency it was "with reluctence I brought myſelf to the reſolution "of retiring from ſervice before the cloſe of the war, "but the peculier circumſtances of my family Justi- "fied the measure to my own mind, eſpecially while "in connection with my private reasons, my retiering "would be the means of an opening for So worthy a "character, as Colonel Brook, to remain in Service —

"But the reſolves of Congress of November 19th "puts the Senior officers who retire in Such circum- "ſtances as by no means corrispond with the ideas "upon which I agreed to retire, therefore, as your "excellency observes there is now no opening unleſs

"my reaſons are very urgent indeed. I ſhall chuse to "remain at present, rather then to accept the pecu- "niary rewards proposed by Congreſs while I am "deprived of every honorary advantage which I may "be intitled to —

"besides Col° Shepards Leaveing Service has, "unfortunately put me in a ſittuation in which my "frinds might censure me Should I resign at pre- "sent —

"I am much obliged to your Excellency for the "information reſpecting the question of promotion in "the Maſsachusetts Line being yet before Congreſs. "Should it be desided accorinding to the opinion of "the Secretary at War it will undoubtedly be agre- "able to me. it, however is a ſubject of too much "dilicasy, for me personably to addreſs Congreſs upon. "if my Services are considered in ſuch a point of view "as Shall induce my General to mention them in a "favorable Light to that honorable body, I Shall ef- "team it one of the most happy circumstances of my "Life. — But I beg leave to Suggest that if by any "means the Maſsachusets Line, Should not obtain "that justice, which they have Long expected, within "a reaſonable time, or any arrangement of Command "Should take place, which I cannot reconsile to my "own fealings as a Military man, I trust I ſhall ſtand "acquited by every one, poſseſed of those fine feal- "ings which Military Service naturely begits in the "humain brest, Should I then request Leve to re- "ſigne —"

I am with the utmost Sentements of
respect your Excellencies mst obedient
humble Servent —

General WASHINGTON

RUFUS PUTNAM

whether my Sentements expreſsed as above were communicated to Congreſs or not I cannot tell, but be that as it may, I recived a Brigadiers Commiſsion dated the Eighth of January 1783 —

Thus was I placed in a Sittuation which Left me no excuse for Leaveing the Service to the cloſe of the war, which happily ſoon took place. on the 19th of April peace was publicly proclaimed in the army. in June the Maſsachusetts Line were reduced to three Regiments, of which Gen[l] Patterſon being the oldest Brigadier took the command. the other officers & ſoldiers retiered on Furlow, and were not discharged untill the next November —

Thus have I given you my history relative to the revolutionary War, So far as relates to the extra Services I was called to engage in, and the esteam in which I was hild by my ſuperior & other officers

I might Say, with another officer "I have had my escapes as well as others" but I have endevored to avoid Saying any more about that, then was neceſsarily connected with the objects I professed to have in view — —

That I enjoyed a good ſhare of the esteam, & confidence, as well as the frindſhip of General Waſhington, must appear to all who ſhall peruse this memore, — And that his frindship for me continued, during his political existence, will appear from what follows —

March 31st 1790, the Preſident appinted me Judg of the General Court in & over the teritory Northwest of the Ohio, & on

May 5th 1792, the Preſident appointed me a Brigader in the army.[1]

October 1st 1796, he appointed me Surveyor Gen[l] of the united ſtates.[2]

[1] Page 257. [2] Page 412.

To be able to leve behind me ſuch indubitable evidence of the eſteam, frindship, & patronage of ſo great & good a man as General Waſhington (continued for more then twenty years) *is no small Source* of conſolation, under the perſecution I have ſuffered from the Arch enemy, of Waſhingtons Administration.

I Shall next proceed to give Some account of my purſuits and employment after the peace took place untill my arrivel at Marietta with my family in November 1790 — and of the Indian War ſo far as relates to the Settlement on the ohio Company Lands

In June 1783 previous to my Leaveing Camp the officers of the army, perticulerly of the Northern States petitioned Congreſs for a grant of a tract of Land Northwest of the river ohio.[1] but Learning by a Letter from General Waſhington of June 1784[2] that northing had ben don on the Said petition, I engaged with the Committee of Eastern Lands to Survey certain Lands bordering on the bay of Paſsamaquoddy, and 2d of august 1784 I Left home for that country — and returned to Boston the eighth of November following —

1785 the General aſsembly of Maſsachusets were So well ſatisfied with my Services the Last year that they appointed me one of the Committe for the Sale, of there Eastern Lands, & alſo to ſuperintend the Surveys

I left home the 6th of June & arrived at Boston the 7th while in Boston, my election as one of the Surveyors of the Lands in the Western teritory was anounced to me in a Letter of the 28th of May from the Secretary of Congreſs, & requiring an imediate

[1] Page 215. [2] Page 226.

anſwer of my acceptance —[1] I was under conſiderable perplexety what anſwer to return, for I was not only under engagement to the State of Maſsachusetts which I could not avoid with honor, without there conſent, but Surveyors & hands were engaged for the Season, provisions Laid in, & a veſsel chartered to take us to the eastern country — at the ſame time I was very Loath to relinquish my appointment for the western country. on a vew of all the circumſtances, I wrote a letter of aceptence to the Secretary of Congress, and a Letter to the Maſsachuſetts Delagates in Congreſs, requesting there influence that Gen[l] Tupper might be accepted as a ſubstitute for me in the western country untill I could attend to that Service in person —

June 14[th] having compleated my arrangments for the eastern country we Sailed from Beverly, this day

June 20[th] arrived at Bluehill Bay where we depſitted ſtors

d° [June] 25 arrived at Enoch Sandburns in Machias Bay where we depoſited a quantity of provisions.

June 29[th] arrived at Laighton point in Cobscook bay here we depoſited our remining Stores and on the next day discharged the Sloop —

This Season was ſpent in ſurveying the coast, Islands & towns westward to Penobscot Bay — and we returned to Boſton about the 20[th] of December.[2] —

The Winter following I was chiefly employed in protracting the Surveys made the Last Season —

With reſpect to the Surveys proposed to be executed this year in the western Country, the hostile disposition of the Indians prevented them altogather.

[1] Page 232.

[2] General Putnam's notes of his Surveys of Eastern Lands are in the Library of Marietta College.

a treaty had ben held with the Indians at Fort M^cIntosh, the 21^st^ of January 1785 but the terms dictated by our Commiſioners were by no means Satisfactory to the Indians, and the Surveyors dare not venture into the woods for the purpos of makeing any Surveys whatever. however General Tupper & others brought a very favorable report of the country, Northwest of the ohio river, and haveing no expectation that anything more favorable would be don by Congreſs for the army then what was comprised in the Land ordinance of the 20^th^ of May 1785, I concluded to join in Setting on foot an aſsociation for purchasing of Lands in that country, & in purſuit of this Idea, Gen^l^ Tupper & my ſelf on —

January 10^th^ 1786 iſsued public information to all officer, & Soldiers & other good citizens disposed to become adveturers in the Ohio country, inviting those residing in Maſsachusetts to meet (by Delagates chosen for the purpos) at Boston on the first day of March, for the purpos of forming an aſsociation by the name of the Ohio Company —

March 1^st^ 1786 Delagates from Eight counties of the State meet at Boston agreable to our request, and proceeded to form the Articles of agreement &c — (See ohio Company records) — [1]

In March or April the Surveyors were ordored to proceed to the Western country, but as General Tupper was the Last year a great Sufferer in expence, & I had Still buſineſs to attend too reſpecting the eastern Lands, he again proceeded to the ohio country as a ſubstitute for me — — — — —

the buſineſs of the Eastern Lands gave me conſiderable imploy in Boston through the winter & fall

[1] See S. P. Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, pp. 193–198; or *Manasseh Cutler — Life, Journals, and Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 179–186.

of 1786; And having ben appointed with Gen[l] Lincoln, and Judge Rice (of Wiscaſset) a Commiſsioner to treat with the Penobscot Indians &c &c I was on this tour from august 7[th] to the 22[d] of September —

1787 January. I joined General Lincoln at Worcester as a Volunteer Aid, against the inſurgents & continued with him untill there dispersion at Peters ham — Sometime in February — April 27[th] I was appointed a Justice of the peace by Govenor Bowdoin — and at the May election I was Elected a member of the General aſsembly for the Town of Rutland

I attended the Spring & fall ſeſsion of the General aſsembly, and alſo to the buſsineſs of the eastern Lands —

November 23[d] 1787 the Director of the ohio company this day appointed me Superintendent of all the buſineſs, relateing to the comincment of a Settlement of there Lands in the teritory Northewest of the river Ohio the people to go forward in the companys employ under my direction, was to conſist of 4 Surveyors 22 men to attend them, 6 boat builders 4 Carpenters 1 Blackſmith & 9 common hands with two waggons — &c &c [1]

Major Haffield White conducted the first party which Started from Danvers, First of December — the other party were appointed to randevoz at Hartford where I met them on the first day of January 1788

From Hartford I was under the neceſsity of going by New york, and this party moved forward, conducted by Col[o] Sproat —

January 24[th] I joined the party at Lincolns Inn, neer the Sweetterret Creek,[2] which was hard frosen

[1] See S. P. Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, pp. 201–204.
[2] Swatara Creek.

but not ſufficient to bear the waggon, & a whole day was ſpent in cuting a paſsage. — So great a quantity of Snow fell this day & the night following as quite blocked up the road. it was with much difficulty we got the waggon as far as Coopers at the foot of Tuscarowas mountains (Now Strawsburgh) where we arrived the 29 — — here we found that northing had croſsed the mountains Sence the great Snow above mentioned, and that in the old Snow which was about 12 inches deep pack horses only had croſsed these mountains — our only resourse now was to build Sleads and to harneſs our horses one before the other, & in this maner, with four Sleads, & the men Marching in front to break the tract we Set forward, and reached the yauhiogany the 14th of February where we found Major Whites party who arrived here the 23d of January —

April 1st 1788 having compleated our Boats, and Lade in Stores we left Sumrells Ferry on the yahioany for the mouth Muskingum river and arrived there on the Seventh — Landing on the upper point where we pitched our Camp among the trees, and in a few days comminced the Survey of the Town of Marietta as well as the eight acre Lots — nor was a preparation for a place of Defence neglected — for besids the propriety of always guarding against Savages, I had reaſon to be cautious. For from conſulting the Several treaties which had ben made with the Indians by our Commſioners (copies of which I had obtained at the War office as I came on) and other circumſtances I was fully perſuaided that the Indians would not be peacible very Long, — hence the propriety of imediately erecting a cover for the Emigrents who were Soon expected.

therefore the hands not neceſsary to attend the

Surveys were Set to work in clearing the Ground &c which I fixed on for erecting the proposed works of defence

Thus were all hands employed untill the 5th of May — when I proposed to them that those who inclined Should have the Liberty of planting two acres each on the plain within the town plat and make up there time after the first of July, (the time to which they had ben engaged in the Companys Service) — most of them accepted the offer, and with what was don by them & others who came on about this time we had about 130 acres of good corn raised yeilding on an average about 30 Buſhel per acre — the Season was very favorable we had no frost untill winter. I had English Beans Bloſsomed in December —

Campus-Martius, was Sittuate on the Margen of the first high ground or plain 68 Chains from the ohio river & eight chains from the Muskingum.

And conſisted of four Block houſes of hewed or ſawed timber, two Story high (erected at the expence of the Company) the upper ſtories on two ſides projected two feet with Loope holes in the projection to rake the ſides of the Lower ſtories. two of the block houses had two rooms on a floor, & the other two three rooms — the block houses were ſo placed as to form Bastions of a reguler Square and flank the curtains of the work, which was proposed to conſist of private houſes, alſo to be made of hewed or ſawed timber and two Story high — Leaveing a cleane area within of 144 feet ſquare

Before our arrivel at the Muskingum as above mentioned none of the Directors or agents had any correct Idea of the quality of the Lands they had purchsed eſpecially of the face of the country about the Muskingum at & neer its confluence withe the ohio,

where they ditermined to Lay out there Capital, to conſist, including commons, of four thousand acres "and contiguous to this, one thousand Lots of eight acres each, amounting, to eight thousand acres" — —

The Survey of theſe 8 acre Lots was first of all to be executed, & a plan of them forwarded to the Secretary of the company by the first wednesday of March (1788) the day appointed for the agents to meet at Providence to draw the Lot — and where they actually did meet & Draw the Several lots but had the prudence to Lodge the List of daughts with the Secretary untill the plans were Sent on

In the month of June Gen[l] Parſons & General Varnum two other Directors of the Company, with ſo many of the agents arrived at this place as to enable them to hold there meeting the 2[d] of July to which time & place it had ben adjorned from Providenc — — But how disappointed were thay to find that not a Director or agent had drawn an 8 acre lot ſo neer the town as to be able to cultivate it without much hazard. ſome remedy they ditermined on, & reſolved on the *foolish* plan to divide three thousand acres of the commons into three acre Lots. this was don but they were as unfortunate as before, none of them were accommedated —

another meaſure adopted was to authorize the clearing the town Lots & remaining commons — this was but a very partial releaf even for those already arrived, & the number was daily increasing —

the Scheme of Laying out Lots of Eight acres had always ben opposed by my ſelf & Some others. our opinion was that a ſmall farm of not Leſs then 64 acres of the best Land ſhould be Laid out to each ſhare bordering on the ohio & other navagable Streams, of which the first actual Settlers Should take

there choce, but we were over ruled and the 8 acre Lots having ben drawn & become the property of Individals it was too Late to adopt the other plan

With reſpect to the works at Campus Martius the four Block houſes were all up ; and the private houses of the curtains were ſo far advanced in the course of the year as to render the place very defencible —

By the timely arrivel of Govenor St Clair with the Teritorial Judges — viz. Perſons Symms & Vernum[1] a code of Laws were adopted for the teritory, and officers civil & Military appointed for the County of Waſhington before the first of September, in which month the Cout of Commonpleas & quarter ſeſsions was opened at Marietta. but happily for the credit of the people there was no Suit either civel or criminal brought before the court —

The whole Number of Men including my ſelf who arrived at Muſkingum (Marietta the 7th of April 1788 as before mentioned) was 48 among which were four Surveyors, viz Colo Sproat, Col Meigs, Major Tupper & Mr John Mathews, & in the course of this year in addition to the above 84 men makeing 132 for the year 1788 — and among these 15 families 8 of theſe arrived as early as the month of August among whome were Genl Tupper, Major Cuſhing, Major Goodale & Major Coburn It must be remembered that at the close of this year there was not a ſingle white family within the now ſtate of ohio, but what were included in our ſettlement, for Colo Harmer & neerly all his officers, at Fort Harmer were proprietors in the ohio Company. — Judge Symms with a few families went down the river in the course of the Sumer but they wintered in Kentucky — —

[1] Arthur St. Clair of Pennsylvania, Samuel Holden Parsons of Connecticut, John Cleves Symmes of New Jersey, and James Mitchell Varnum of Rhode Island.

We had no interruption from the Indians this year, neer Marrietta, partly no doubt from there hopes they entertained from the treaty which they had ben promised, and which was held neer Fort Harmer[1] & Signed the 9th of January 1789 — but this treaty under all circumſtances gave us no real ſecurity, or reaſon to relax in our precautions against a ſurprize —

The Directors & agents with every other proprietor that arrived in the country were early convinced that Some new project must be adopted for accommodating emigrants with Land or the Settlement would ſoon come to northing. and doubts ariſeing in the minds of Some with reſpect to the agents authority to effect what appered neceſsary, to remedy this ſupposed defect, the proprietors were notified to meet at Marietta the first Wednesday of December 1788 by themſelves or agents Specially authorised for the purpos, but the proprietors did not appear by them ſelves or ſpecial agents in ſufficients numbers to authorize there proceeding on the buſineſs, wherefore the agents concived under all circumſtances that they were warrented to proceed on the premiſes

Therefore, February 6th 1789 the Agents First repealed the Reſolutions reſpecting the division of the remaining Lands paſsed at Boston the 21st of November 1787, and then after a preamble Stateing there reaſons proceeded as follows viz

"Therefore Reſolved *Unanimously*, That there ſhall "be granted to perſons who ſhall ſettle in ſuch places "within the purchas as the agents may think most "conducive to advance the general intrest of the "proprietors & under ſuch reſtrictions and Limitations "as they ſhall think proper, not exceeding one hun-

[1] Fort Harmar was located at the mouth of the Muskingum River, opposite the Ohio Company's first settlement.

"dred acres out of each ſhare in the fund of the "Company, & that a Committe be appointed to in- "vestigate the purchas ſo far as may in there opinion "be neceſsary in ordor to point out & fix upon proper "places of ſettlement"

The general regulation reſpecting ſuch ſettlers (meterial to be mentioned here) is that no one ſettlement ſhould conſist of Leſs then 20 men able to bear arms & well provided with arms & amunition — & to erect ſuch works of Defence as Should be pointed out by the Committe.

In purſuence of these regulations for Granting Donation Lands a number of Settlements were made in 1789 & 1790 of which we ſhall have ocation to Say more here after

The number of emigrants who arrived in 1789 as far as we are able to aſsertain was 152 men and among theſe 57 families — among the emigrents this year was the Reverend Daniel Story —

early in the Spring Capt Zebulun King was Killed at Bellprie by the Indians. & 4 others in the woods below Gallipolis, M^{r} Mathews the Surveyor & one man eſcaped. John Gardner taken at Wolf C but escaped from them

1790 in the Last & preſent year the following Settlements commenced in purſuence of the Donation System before mentioned — viz 4 Settlements on the ohio at Belleprie, & Newbury including 68 Lots alſo on the Muskingum, & Wolf Creek 2 Settlements of 40 Lots at all theſe Settelements very conſiderable improvements had ben made during the Last & preſent year & a Saw mill & Cornmill erected at Wolf Creek & at Duck Creek

at Meigs Creek a Block house was built for 20 Settlers & another at Big bottom for 40 Late in the fall

of the preſent year, & a few Settlers were on the alottmt at the Forks of Duck Creek —

on the 23d of April Docter Cutler & my ſelf in behalf of the Directors — Executed a contract with William Dure and others at New york for the Sale of 148 ſhares of Land in the ohio Companys purchas, which had ben forfited for nonpayment — [1]

The object of Duer and his aſsociates was to provide for certain French emigrants who had begun to arrive at New york — in purſuence of that object Major John Burnham, was engaged to rais 50 men, to erect Cabbins for the emigrants — Burnham with his party arrived at Chickamage (galipolis) in the month of June, & imediately comminced there work — And a Number of the French Emigrants arrived at Galipolis in the course of the Sumer and fall

August 1790 althoe our ſettlements had ſuffered nothing the preſent year from the Indians, yet koweing that General Harmer was going against Some of there Settlements, and other circumſtances gave us apprehentions of Mischief from them to guard against which detachments of Militia, under pay of the Company, were Stationed at each Settlement for the protection of the people against ſurprize &c —

The number of Emigrants this year including Major Burnhams party (& exclusive of the French emigrants) as neer as we can aſsertain was 165 men & 31 families

The number of Frnch emigrants that arrived at Gallipolis we never aſsertained, but I find 35 men & two families remained Some time at Marietta —

After General Harmers Defeat at the St Joſeph, neer the Miami Towns, at the head of the Miami

[1] For a detailed account of this transaction, see *Manasseh Cutler — Life, Journals, and Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 494–524.

river of the Lake Eri, we were very apprehensive for Some time of an attack from our neighbours, the Dellewars & Wyandots, but as they made no movement we began to flatter our ſelves they would not take part in the war which the Shawones & Miami Indians had provoked —

I have Stated that in the year 1788 we had no Frost untill Some time in December but in the year 1789 it was far otherwiſe a Severe frost about the fourth of october deſtroyed all the unripe corn throughout the western country, and was perticulerly diſtresing to the ſettlers on the ohio Company Land —

I left Marietta in July 1789, intending not to return again untill I brought on my family, but in the winter of 1790 I was with Docter Cutler detained in Newe york on the Companys buſineſs, and while there as before ſtated we contracted with W^m^ Duer & others for the Sale of 148 Shares of Forieted rights, & not only ſo but I undetook to engage a party of men to come forward under Major Burnham for the purpos of erecting cabbins at Chickamaga as before mentioned. I arrived with Major Burnhams party at Marietta in May with a ſtock of provisions to last untill December, to which time I had engaged there ſervis and made my ſelf reſponſible for there pay —

other buſineſs of the ohio Company Like wiſe called my attention to Marietta at this time which the journals of the Company will in a Meaſure explain —[1]

I again left the Settlement in the month of June, and returned with my family the fifth of November —

[1] The encouragement of new settlements was considered of prime importance, and during the winter of 1790 committees explored and reported favorably upon several locations along the Ohio, in the lower part of the Ohio Company's Purchase; 57,000 acres were divided into farms, and though the outbreak of the Indian War prevented the fulfilment of the plan, General Putnam's energies at this time were probably directed toward it.

the Crops of Corn this year were very good but the increſe of inhabitents with the Scersety in the early part of the Seaſon oweing to the untimely frost the last fall gave reaſon to apprehend there would not be a ſupply for the enſuing year — exclusive of the people at Gallipolis who had raised none —

January 2d 1791 — this evening between Sunſetting and dark the Indians ſurprized a new Blockhouse at a place called the Big bottom about 40 mile up the Muſkingum the Indians first decoyed & made priſoners of 4 men at a hutt a Little distence from the block house. they then came to the block house & finding the Door open & no ſentenal they fired on the people about the fire & ruſhing in Murdered every person except one Lad — the perſons killed were John ſtacy, Ezra Putnam John Camp, Zebulun Troop (4) from Maſschusetts, Jonathan Farwell and Couch[1] (2) from New hampshire Wm James (1) from Connecticut — Joſeph Clark (1) from Rhode Island Isaac Meeks, his Wife & two Children (4) from Virginia in all 12 killed

Taken priſoners. Francis Choat, Isaac Choat Thomas Shaw & Philip Stacy (4) from Maſsachuſetts & Jamee Patten from Newhampſhire 5 in all taken priſoners —

the Indians the Same Night came down to Wolf Creek Mills, but fortunately 2 men in another hutt not far from the Blockhouse that was taken made there eſcape, and coming down to Capt Roggers Hunting Camp they arrived at the Mills before the Indians & gave the alarm. the Indians therefore finding the people at the Mills were on there guarde made no attempt at that time —

It was now evident that the war was become general and that it was neceſsary to prepair for the

[1] James Couch.

worst. our Situation was critical on Several accounts. the troops that were at Fort Harmer had all except a few Invaleds ben called down the river. General Harmer had ben unfortunate two detachments of his army one of 110 men & the other of 360 had Severally ben beaten by the Indians. there were no ſettlements on the ohio or neer it from Pitts burgh to Kentucky, that were they disposed could afford us any aſsistence — the Indians were much elated with there ſucceſs & threatened there ſhould not remain a Smoak on the ohio by the time the Leaves put out

our own Strength at this time (except at Gallipolis) I find by a return of the Militia made about this time to be as follows viz

This it appears was the whole force which under providence we had to rely on for our defence except a few of Burnhams men Som of whome remained at Gallipolis & I expect were not included in this return nor are any Frenchmen included, they were not yet organized with officers

L[t] Col[o] Commadant — — — —			1
Major — — — — — — — —			1
Captains — — — — — — — —			4
Subalterns — — — — — — —			8
Sarjents — — — — — — — —			6
Rank & file — — — — — —			244
			264
Civel officers — — — — —			8
Old Men	Marietta — —	19	
	Belleprie — — —	4	
	Wolf Creek — —	6	
			301
	Killed & Miſsing		14
			287

The first Meaſures taken was to call a ſpecial Meeting of the Agents and proprietors within the purchas on the 5[th] of January, at which meeting they reſolved that additional works were neceſsary to be erected for the defence of Marietta, Belleprie, & Wolf Creek (Waterford)

that Col[o] Sproat be applied to and requesed to rais a body of Militia to consist of 60 privates properly

oficered and Six Spies or expert Woods men — The Directors imediately ſet about carrying theſe Reſolutions into effect — the four ſettlements at Belleprie & Newbury were conſentrated in one — thoſe at Wolf Creek — Meigs Creek & indeed all up the Muſkingum were all collected to one ſtation on the Bank of the river, except ſuch as retiered to Marietta. the people up Duck Creek & in the neighbourhood of Marietta were all called in & took Shelter at Campus-Martius, Fort Harmer & the point at the upper ſide of Muſkingum, were a large Space including all the Houses was enclosed by a ſtockade & Block houses — — a ſtrong work of Block houses joined by a ſtockade work was alſo erected at Bellprie and another at the Station up the Muſkingum — and Campus was alſo much improved by additional works

Dureing the Winter while theſe works were carrying on few men Left the Settlement becauſe they were reciving wages either for Service on the works or as Militia but the works being compleated & the War continuing many deſerted the Settlement

we heard northing from the indians untill the month of March when they came on in conſiderable force to Warterford (the Station up Muskingum) but the people being apprized of there approach they effected northing, but the wounding one Man & takeing another priſoner, who were out Some distence from the Garison, but did not attemp this Fort, nor any other of our Stations — but dividing into Small parties they harrised all the Settlements on the ohio through the Somer & fall. at Marietta they killed Capt Joseph Rogers about 1½ mile from Campus-Martius as he was returning in from a Scout — and Mathew Kerr at the Mouth of Duck Creek — at Bellprie they killed Benona Hurlburt (a Spy) while out on his duty they

alſo killed, & drove off a number of Cattle from Bellprie & Warterford — —

they alſo killed one man at Gallipolis, and James Kelly at Bellvill 29 mile below Marietta & took Joseph Kelly, a Small boy on the Virginia ſide of the ohio.[1] and 4 men were killed one wounded & one taken priſoner about 7 mile from Marietta on the road to Clarksburge —

finding the peopl on the ohio Company purchas all Forted & generally keeping a good Lookout — it apears the party which came out to deſtroy us root & branch pritty early in the year croſsed over into Viginia & neer the ohio and even as far East as the Waters of the Mongahala did a Great deal of Mischief, in Murdering & captivateing people & carrying off Horses every year the war continued — while we Lost but a few comparitively after the preſent year (1791) in 1792 at Marietta M^r^ Robert Worth and a Negro boy killed & Joseph Simonds wounded in 1793 at Bellprie Major Goodale killed in 1794 — Abel Sherman, at Waterford, & Jonas Davis at Bellprie killed & in 1795 Sherman Warterman killed, on Little Wolf Creek — and providence ſo ordored that in the course of the War we obtained two Indian Schelps, & believe we killed a third

February 1792 — the Director of the Ohio Company haveing notified a meeting of Special agents to be holden in Philedelphia, to take the afairs of the Company into conſideration, on the 2^d^ of this month I Set out in company with Col^o^ Robert oliver[2] for that place on, or ſoon after our arrivel we met with Docter Cutler — & on the 2^d^ of March we prefered a

[1] In the manuscript arranged thus : —
" they also killed one man at Gallipolis, and James Kelly at Bellvill 29 & took Joseph Kelly, a Small boy
mile below Marietta on the Virginia ſide of the ohio."

[2] Robert Oliver was one of the Directors of the Ohio Company.

petition to Congreſs[1] — the great object of this petition was to be released from the oreginal contract for the purchas of 1.500.000 acres and for a reimbursment of the expencis of the war &c &c our Sittuation was very criticle — Col° Duer & aſsociates had failed altogather in reſpect to the 148 ſhares they contracted to purchas Duer was about this time ſhut up in Gale, where he Died $2861.42 indebeted to me for building the works & Cabbins at Gallipolis — And Richard Platt the treaſurer of the ohio Company was ſhut up — about $80000 indebted to the ohio Company, which they never recovered — & we were bound to give 100 acres of Land to each actual Settler, who ſhould continue in the Settlement & perform Militia duty dureing the War — our ability to perform which many began to doubt. S[t] Clair had ben defeated, with a great Loſs of men, and all his artillery, and Stores of every kind — the Indians began to believe them Selves invinsible, and they truly had great cauſe of triumph.

by far the greatest part of our Strenght conſisted in men who were not proprietore in the Company & therefore had no inducment to remain in the country but there wages & the 100 acres of Land which had ben promised — — —

Our Second payment to Congreſs of $500000 was now become due — & on the non payment of which it was a question if the Lands we had paid for might not be forfieted —

beſides we had already expended more then $9000 in erecting works & paying Militia & &c

under theſe circumſtances it was abſolutly impoſsible to fulfill our contract with Congreſs & there was the utmost danger of the ſettlement being broken

[1] For the text of this petition and the consequent Act of Congress, see *Manasseh Cutler — Life, Journals, and Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 471–481.

up, unleſs Congreſs Should grant releaf — — but in this mount of difficulties Divine providence ſo over ruled the minds of Men that Congreſs paſsed an Act authorizing the Preſident to iſsue a patent for the 750000 acres for which we had paid in final Settlement Certificates, & another Patent for a tract of 214285 acres which we paid for in Military Land Warrents valued at the rate of one acree equel to one Doller in Certificates — Congreſs alſo granted to the Directors 100000 acres in trust to be granted in Lots of 100 acres to each Settler — by which means the Directors were able to fulfill there engagements to Settlers without any Sacrefise of the Company Lands —

we alſo obtained a reimbursment of moneys paid for wages & Subſistence of Militia $2614.08 —

By a Late examination of the Companys Books I find there expencis on acc[t] of the Indian War to be for 1790 1791 & 1792 as follows viz

			$ —	Ct.
1790	for p[d] Militia, Spies & Subsistence	—	297	83
1791	for pay of Militia Six month — — — —		3724	43
	for amount of Subsistence & rations Same time —		2930	10
d°	Spys extra Scouts & guards pay & rations —		1061	79
d°	ſurgions pay & rations, Medicen & amunition —		766	60
d°	expence of the Several fortifications — — —		4668	84
d°	goods given for redeemtion of priſoners — —		40	—
			13489	59
	To alowence by agents to Director for Servis			
1791	to Rufus Putnam Servis at Marietta	$113.		
D°	G. Greene at Belleprie — — — — — —	90. —		
d°	d° d° — at Marietta — — — — — —	283.50		
1792	d° d° at d° — — — — — —	118.50		
1791	Robert oliver Servis at Marietta —	351. —		
d°	Jorney of Oliver to Philadelphia —	173.33		
1792	Robert oliver Service at Marietta —	90. —	1219	33
	Contra C—r		$14708	92
	By money &c refunded by the U S	$ 2614.08		
	By Sundries furnished individuals	743.94	3358	02
	Neat expence ocationed by the War — to the ohio Company — — — — — —		$11350	90

It will be obſerved that all these expences accrued in the years 1791 & 1792 and indeed after the first Six months of the year 1791 the ohio Company were at no expence on account of the Militia who were called into Service. they were paid & Subsisted by the United States——

I have Said (page 129) [99] that on the 5th of May 1792 I was appointed Brigadier in the army.[1] with what reluctence I accepted of that appointment will be ſeen by the following Letter I wrote to the Secretary of War on the ocation

"PHILADELPHIA May 7th 1792

"Sir

I have ben this day honored with your Letter of "the 5th inſtent, notifying me, that the Preſident of "the United States withe advice & conſent of Senate "has appointed me a Brigadier General. — the re- "ſpect I owe to the Preſident of the United States, "and the diſtreſsed Sittuation of that country I now "call mine, obliges me to accept the honor of this "appointment. — provided however that I hold my "rank from my Commiſsion in the Late army that "I conſider it a temporary appointment which I pro- "pose to reſign, as Soon as the Service will permit, "and in the Mean time I retain my preſent office in "the civel department.

"but in justice to my Self I must obſerve, that I "have not the remotest wish to enter again into the "Military Line. my private afairs & Sittuation of "my family all forbid it and my advanced age as well "as ſtate of my health, I fear will render me unable "to perform the duties of a Soldier with honor to my "ſelf & advantage to the Servis"

I am &c

[1] Page 257.

In a few days after I recived this appointment I recived my inſtructions from the Secretary of war the first object of which was "to attempt to be pre-"ſent at the General Council of the hostile Indians "about to be held on the Miami river of Lake Erie "in order to convince the Said Indians of the humain "dispoſitions of the United States, and there by to "make a truce or peace with them" [1]

I arrived a Pittsburgh the 2d of June & on the 5th I Sent a Speech [2] to the hostile tribes, by two Munsee Indians who had ben taken priſoners & whome I released for that purpos — the object of this Speech was to notify them of the object of my Miſsion — "to "request them to open a path to Fort Jefferſon where "I expected to arrive in about 20 days, and that they "ſhould Send Some of there young men with Capt "Hendrick to conduct me with a few frinds to the "place they Should fix on for our meeting" however I did not arrive at Fort Waſhington until the 2d of July, where I Learned that the very day I had Sent word to the Indians that I proposed to be at Fort Jefferſon about 100 Indians with new, or white Shirts & there Chief with a Scarlet coate, fell on a party makeing hay in the neighbourhood of the Fort & killed & carried off 16 men. from the extreordinary dreſs of theſe Indians there was reaſon to ſuspect that they were Sent out (or at Lest furnished with there new Shirts by the British agent) for the purpos of takeing me off and this ſuspition was further confirmed Soon after by information of the certain Murder of Colo Hardy & Major Truman as well as Some others who had not Long Sence ben Sent too them with Flaggs — —

From information which could be depened on I

[1] Page 257. [2] Page 269.

was Soon convined that the Indians who met at the Great Council were ditermined for war and that it was in vain to make any further attempts to bring them to treat of peace at preſent — — But from information from Major Hamtramick the commanding officer at post Vincent there was reaſon to believe Something might be don with the wabash & other more western Indians

accordingly on the 24th of July I Sent a Speech[1] to all the Western tribes inviting them to meet me in council at post vincent the 20th of September, aſsuring them that I Should bring there frinds & relations with me (meaing the Indian priſoners at Fort Waſhington —)

august 16th I left fort Washington with the Indian priſoners &c and arrived at post Vincent on the 13th of September & the Same day reſtored the priſoners about 60 in Number to there frinds — with a ſhort ſpeech.[2]

The Councill aſsembled on the 25th & continued by adjournments to the 27th when the treaty was Signed

A Journal of the proceedings in the Council held with the Indians on this ocation, with other papers preſerved on file will give a full account in what maner I executed the Miſsion I was Sent upon — [3]

how far my conduct met the approbation of the Preſident of the United States the following Letter will Show — —

"WAR DEPARTMENT
"February 15th 1793

Sir

"your Letter of yesterday has ben ſubmited to the "Preſident of the United States. while he accepts "your reſignation he regrets that your ill health,

[1] Page 307. [2] Page 333. [3] Pages 335-384.

"compells you to Leave the army as he had antici-
"pated much good to the troops from your experi-
"ence as an officer.

"He has commanded me to tender you his thanks
"for the zeal and judgment manifested in your Ne-
"gotiation with the Wabash Indians, and your fur-
"ther endevor toward a general pacification

I am Sir with great eſteme
"Brigadier General your obedient Servent
RUFUS PUTNAM H KNOX
Secretary War"

N B the tribes of Indians repreſented at this treaty were the Eel Creeks, Weaughtenoes — Potewatemis — Miſsoutins, Kikapoos of the Wabash & Peankaſhaws — — Kaskaskies & Piorians. and the Number of Chiefs who Signed the treaty was 31 — the whole number preſent — 247 Men 439 women & Children — Total 686

In compliance with my request in a Speech[1] made to the Indians on the 29th of September, a number of the Chiefs, I believe ten Set out for Philadelphia, conducted by Lt Prior — at the time of there departure I was incapable of any buſineſs & left the perticuler arrangment to Major Hamtramick & Mr John Heckewelder, the Later of whome was to go with them to Marietta & there wate my arrivel — —

on the 25th of September I was taken with the ague & feavor wich returned upon me every 2d day untill the 30th from which time the fitts returned every day ſucceſsively for Several days & the fevor run ſo high that I was not able to attend to any buſineſs untill the 6th of october, on which day the fevor left me & on the 10th althoe Very week & feable I Set out by water. from Post Vincent — on the 18th I

[1] Page 366.

was taken with a relaps of the Same disordor. & it was the 29th before I reached the falls of ohio — having for 12 days ſuffered much being with out Physitian or Medicene, and no accommodation but what the boate aforded — here I remained untill the 19th of November when the fitts being partly broken, I Set out for Marietta, where I arrived the 18th of December, haveing had only two fitts on the way, yet remaining very weak & Low —

As Soon as my health permitted I Set out for Philadelphia and haveing made my reporte to the Secretary of War — and on the 14th of February 1793 reſigned my commiſsion[1] — I returned to my family, haveing through the good providence of God in a good degre effected Somthing of importence, but not the main object of my Miſſion —

All the Michief don by Indians dureing my absence in the ohio companys purchas & even to the end of the War being ſtated in page 147 [114–115] I Shall Say northing further reſpecting the War, but proceed to ſome further account of the Meaſures prosecuted for Settling the ohio Companys Lands

It appears from our yearly Statements that there had arrived by the Last of December 1790 in the Companys purchas exclusive of the French Emigrants — 447 men 103 of whome had families, that the whole Number of the Militia at this time including old men & civel officers did not exceed 287
to which I add for Burnhams men not returnd
in Militia 25–
312

So that 312 men is the highest number we can count as our whole ſtrengh when the war brook out 2d Janary 1791 and of theſe 312 only 226 remained through the war and recived there 100 acres of Donation

[1] Page 384.

Land — — part of this difference is to be accounted for by the death of those killed by the Indians & other Deaths, but chefly from want of fortitude of mind & confidence in the honor or ability of the Company to fulfill there engagements —

But while many were forſakeing the Settlement others came in eſpecially after the grant of Congreſs of 100000 acres to the Directors in trust to be given away So that before the five year was out the Directors Granted 897 Lots — but I find no account of the time of the arrivals of Settlers after the year 1790 —

I have ſaid I did not know how many French arrived at Gallipolis in the year 1790 — but on the first day of November 1795 I found there but 88 of 18 years of age & upward which I had ocation to aſsertain, by ordor of the Secretary of the Treaſury Department — for the purpos of Surveying and dividing to them 24000 acres of Land Granted by Congreſs March 1795.

To give an account of the Settlement of the State of ohio or of the Indian War beyond the Limits of the ohio Companys purchas except ſo far as I was perſonally concerned is not the object of theſe memores —

begining with the year 1789 to geneal Wayns treaty in the year 1795 I find within the ohio Companys purchas 28 perſon killed 7 taken priſoner & 2 wound. — in Virginia bordering on the river opposit the Company Lands 5 killed 1 taken & 1 wounded. — the priſoners all returned except Philip Stacy who died in captivity —

N B I count James Kelly & his Son Joſeph as in the ohio Companys purchas, — and M[r] Armſtrong opposit Belleprie on the bank of ohio had Several children taken which are not mentioned in the above account

I might with propriety mention a number of in-

ſtences in the course of this war of Gods evidently appearing by his providence to interpose for the preſervation of our inhabitence, but ſuffise it to remark, that notwisſtanding the very frequent paſsing, both by land & water from one ſettlement to another & various excourtions abroad, perticulerly to Wolf creek Mill for grinding, yet on none of those ocations were any lives Lost or other injury recived from the enimy — —

For my ſelf I have great reaſon to acknowledge the Goodneſs of God in my own preſervation, in that while much Miſschief was don on the ohio, eſpecially neer the mouth of the Scioto river, I made three voiges to Cincinnati with out being molisted by the Indians, althoe Sometimes alarmed —

On the 24th of December 1790 the Directors of the ohio Company, Reſolved that a Superintendent of Surveys &c be appointed — which System was approved of by the agents April 4th 1791 See Jurnal of C° page 159

May 26th 1793 I was appointed Superintendent in purſuence of the afore Said Reſolves

May 27th I was appointedent to carry into effect the System adopted by the Trustees for granting Donation Lands agreably to the act of Congreſ of April 21st 1792

And we actually commenced our Survey of theſe Lands the 11th of December 1793, the War notwithſtanding

In 1794 Col° Pickering, Postmaster General, proposed the plan of carrying a Mail from Wheeling to Lime ſtone by water. on this ocation I was conſulted, the plan I proposed adopted & the buſineſs placed under my ſuperintendence — See Pickering & Haberſhams Letters.[1]

[1] Pages 386-405, 413-418.

And in Some other Matters of importence I was Conſulted by Mr Pickering in 1795 & 1796 when Secretary of war and Secretary of Stat & my opinions adopted.[1]

In 1795 Mr Woolcot Secretary of the Treaſury commited the affairs of the French Settlers at Gallipolis to my care

June 14th 1796, Sais Mr Wolcott, in his Letter, "The Preſident of the United States has ben pleased "to confide to you, the buſineſs of carrying into effect "an act of Congreſs entitled "An act, to authorize "Ebenezer Zane to Locate certain Lands in the ter- "ritory of the United State Northwest of the river "ohio"

N B this Law provids for Laying out and eſtablishing a road from Wheeling to Lime Stone &c & the whole by this appointment placed under my Superintendence ——

But the Last & best gift I recived from Preſident Waſhington was anounced in a Letter from Mr Secretary Pickering encloſing a Commiſsion of Surveyor General of the United States, bearing date the First day of october 1796 —[2]

In what manener I fulfiled the duties of this office I Shall leve for thoſe who were imployed under me & best informed on the Subject to ditermine

Indeed I might appeal to my corrispondence with the Secretaries of the treaſury,[3] or even to Mr Galliten perſonally, that *no want of ability*, *integrity*, or *industry* was the cauſe of my removel from office. *no.* it was don because I did not Subscribe to the Meaſures of him whom I have called, *Arch* enemy to Waſhingtons Administration. Because I did not die nor reſigne. —

[1] Pages 405–409, 411. [2] Page 412. [3] Pages 419–426, 428–443.

Mr Jefferſon in his reply to the remonſtrance of the Merchants of Newhaven, asks "how are vacancies to "be obtained? thoſe by death are few, by reſignation "none, can any other mode then removel be proposed? "I ſhall proceed with deliberation that it may be "thrown as much as poſsible on delinquency, oppreſ- "sion, intollerence and Ante revolutionary adherence "to our enemies"

how conſistent is this dicleration with his apointment of Mr Mansfield, well known to be an active tory. — See the New york evening post of December 2d 1803

Mr Gallitens Letter anouncing Mr Mansfields appoint to the office of Surveyor General, bears date the 21st of September 1803 [1] yet the Editor of the evening post had not heard of it untill the 2d of December & then by a frind of Mine from Marietta. beſides, my frind Mr. Joſeph Nourse, Register of the treasyry department in a Letter of the 7th of January 1804 in anſwer to one from me of the 17th of December obſerves "I had heard it reported that you "were no Longer in office but as it had not ben "anounced, was in hopes that it was erronious, untill "you mentioned it in your Letter —" this I think Looks a little Like a political Martyrdom which it was Wished to conceal from public notoriety, that my frinds might not have ſo fair an oppertunity of doing public Justice to my character — but be that as it may, I am happy in haveing my name enroled with many others who have ſuffered the Like political death, for adherence to those correct principles & meaſures in the purſuence of which our country roſe from a State of weakneſs disgrace & poverty, to Strength, Honor & Credit — —

[1] Page 439.

OFFICIAL PAPERS
AND CORRESPONDENCE

OFFICIAL PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

GEN^{L} WASHINGTON ORDORS TO MARCH FOR NEW YORK

Head Quarters CAMBRIDGE 31. March 1776 —

Sir

You are hereby Order'd to march to New York, by the way of Providence — When you arrive at Providence you are to deliver Governor Cooke the Letter directed for him and afford him your best advice and aſsistance in the Construction of the Works there. — At New York you are to apply to the Commanding Officer of the Continental Forces & follow such Orders & directions as you may from time to time receive from him. —

I am Sir

Your most humble Servant

G^{o} : WASHINGTON

Col^{o} RUFUS PUTNAM —

COPPY OF LETTER TO GEN^{L} WASHINGTON

PEAKS KILN November 1776

Sir

Sence your Exelency Left this place I have Ben to Antonies Nose, and I Beleave there is no danger, of the Enimy atempting to poſeſs it. I Returned this day from a Toure up Peaks kiln Hallow about Eleven mile N Eaſtward then through the High Lands into the fiſh kiln Country and down to the N River then Returned by the Poſte Roade I have the Pleaſure to Inform you that I think it Impoſable for a Carrag to paſs the High lands by this Eaſtern Paſs

But it may be well to have a guard keept Hereabouts as there is a Number of Torys Sheltering them Selves in theſe mountains Waiting an oppertunity to git to the Miniſteral Army about 4 mile further Eaſt is another Paſs through the Mountains But I am Informed by good authority that this is much Worſe then the Laſt mentioned one another Paſs about 20 mile from the Peaks kiln landing Leading from bedford through the High lands the tel me is a Very good one this I mean to See to morrow the Barracks and other works Here are Puſhing as faſt as Poſable I have deſired L^{t} Mechin to Strenghen the Poſts on the River by Redoubt and other out Works as much as Poſable. I am more then Ever Convinced of the Neceſſity of keeping a poſt at Croton or Pine Bridge as a Protection to that part of the Country from and through which Supplys muſt be Drawn for this Poſt and alſo as a means to prevent the Enimy from makeing any Excruſtions during the Winter for the Purpos of gitting Supplys I Shall after my next toure be able to Send your Exelency a Ruff Draft of this part of the Country which I Shall looſe no time in Performing

LETTER FROM HIS EXELENCY GEN^{L} WASHINGTON

Head Quarters VALLEY FORGE 11th April 1778

Sir,

I have been favored with yours of the 10th Feb & 12th March to which I should have replied ſooner had I not been taking ſome ſteps to inquire whether the Rank of Col^{o} of Engineers conferred upon you August, 12th 1776 would entitle you to take Rank in the Maſsachusets line as from that time. I am inclined to think it would give great disſatisfaction to those Colonels who were elder Lieut. Col^{os} than you

were. They allow that you have Rank in the great line of the army from the date of your appointment as Col° of Engineers, but in the line of Maſsachusets they contend that you only Rank from the time you were appointed to the Command of a Regiment by the State. There were so many of the Field Officers absent who are interested in the ſettlement of this matter that a Board of Gen^l Officers who met to determine it could not effect it to their ſatisfaction, and I therefore wish that you would let your claim rest until it can be more fully discuſsed.

I am S^r
Your most Obet S^t
G° WASHINGTON

Col° PUTNAM

LETTER TO HIS EXELENCY

CAMP WHITE PLAINS Auguſt 30^th 1778

Sir

Haveing Seen a Liſt of the Maſſachuſett line of Collonels Said to be the arangement made by a Board of Gen^l officer as they are in future to Rank, to gather with the Committee of arangemet being arived in Camp I hope your Exelency will Conſider as a Sufficient apollogie for my Adreſsing you at this time on the Subject of my owne Rank

In your letter of the 11^th of April laſt[1] you Say the Maſſachuſetts Col° "Allow that I have Rank in the "grate line of the Army from the Date of my ap- "pointment as Col° of Engeneers — — but in the line "of Maſſachſits they Contend that I only Rank from "the Time of my apointmet to the Command of a "Regiment by the State

However Juſt this Reaſoning may appear to Some

[1] Page 130.

I can by no means Conſent too it: I have no Idea of Commanding a Col° of one of the other State who may Command a Col° of the Maſſachuſetts State, that (by this Rule) will Command me at the Same time Should three officers under theſe Circumſtancs be ordored on duty togather nither of them Could have the Command of the whole becauſe they would all be Commanded by one a nother. Whitch would bring all in to Confuſition and Injure the Service

if theſe Gentelmen Should admit that in this Caſe the Maſſachuſetts line of Rank Should give way to the grate line of the Army and the Maſſachuſetts line Should be held too only when on Duty with Maſſachuſetts officers it would Releave us Very little and opens a dore for the worſt of Conſequences — as it Tends in my opinion to prevent any Reguler Line of Rank ever being Eſtabliſhed through the army but admit that this would be a good Rule in future it ought to be Rejected in the Preſent Caſe for till the Reſolve of the Congreſs 1776 ordoring 88 Battallions to be Raiſed during the war and propotioning the Number to Each State there was no Such thing as a Maſſachuſetts line So far from it that when the Reg^{t} ware Raiſed for the Servis of ye year 1776 there was Some Pains Taken to Inter mix officers of the Different Stats in the Same Regiment, and there was No State appointment in the Army wherefore theſe Gentelmens Pretention to Rank in the Maſſachuſetts line in the Preſent Army cannot ariſe from there former Rank that line becauſe there was no Such line, but from there former Rank in the line of the Army at large northing I think Can be more fancifull then this and therefore no Reaſon I preſume Can be given why in Setling the Preſent Maſſachuſett line I Should not Receve Equil advantage from my appontment

as Col° of Engineers in that line as in the grate line of the Army. according to their argument L^t^ Col° Sherman of Col° Webbs Reg^t^ Shall have no advantage of Rank in the Connecticut line from the Majourity he had in 1776 becauſe it was under a Maſſachuſett Col° nor I from my L^t^ Colonecy becauſe I was that year under a Connecticut Col° —— the gentelmen Ranked befor me in the liſt which I have Seen and which I think ought not to be is Col° Shepard and Col° Wigelſworth the one is the 3^d^ the other the 4^th^ and I am the 5^th^ in 1775 Col° Shepard and I were L^t^ Col° togather and he out Ranked me I know alſo that had he obtained the Regt when Col° Learned Reſigned he would Still out Rank me but this was not the Caſe if it Should be Said that his Commanding the Reg^t^ before my apointment alters the Caſe I anſwer that I Commanded a Regimet in 1775 after Col° David Brewer was Dismiſsed as long as Col° Shepard did in ye year 1776 Before my apointmt to the Rank of a Col° and that he had not the Rank of a Col° in the Army till Neer three months after I had therefore I See no Reaſon of his being aranged Before me

Col° Wigelsworth I am Told was not in the army at all in 1775 — the first I ever heard of him was in 1776 he Commanded a Regt of New Levies to the Northward: it is Poſable if I had Quited the Service in the fall of 1775 that I might have had one of thoſe Regiments I knew a Major who was Rejected by the Gen^l^ officer as a Major in 1775 who obtained one of them and a L^t^ a Major in the Same Regiment I Speek not this to Detract from Col° Wigelsworth I eſteam him much but to ſhew where this Rule will Carry us if Purſued.

my own Pretentions are as follows I was foure

years the laſt War in the actual Service of my Country [?] the laſt of which I had an Enſigns Comnition I Left home the 19th of April 1775 from which time till the 12 of august 1776 I Served as Lt Colo when I was appointed Engeneer with the Rank of Colo in the army

that under theſe Circumſtances any Gentelman who began his Service in 1776 in the maner Colo wigelsworth did Should be aranged before me I Concive to be Very Injurious not only to me but all other in my Sittuation (Excluevе of the Idea of my appointment as Colo of Engeneers —

if this arangment is not fully Eſtabliſhed I pray your Exelency to take my Caſe in Conſideration and order Some Meaſurs to be Taken for my obtainig Juſtice: if this arangment is Unalterably Eſtabliſhed: Honour the first Prinſible of a Soldier obliges me to aſk a discharge which I deſier your Exelency will grant or procure Granted by Congreſs

LETTER FROM GENL McDOUGALL

Head-Quarters PEEK'S-KILL
Feby 27th 1779 —

Sir

I did not intend Nixons shou'd have marched with you, but from present appearances the Service will not Suffer by it — Colo Loring has four boxes of Spare Amunintion with him; as the Enemy is retiring, he will be found on the North Castle Road, leading to the Plains. — If the Enemy *move*, or appear in *Force* on the *River*, or a movement on it *in* force shou'd apparently be intended, — quicken the march of the Brigade, on the best & Shortest routs to Pecks-Kill, & let your Regiment halt at Mr Lents, where the New Road leads to Kings Ferry, — there

wait Orders;—If you retire on the North River Road, In this Case, drive all the Horses Cattle & Sheep before you

Your humble Servant

ALEX McDOUGALL

Colo Commdt

PUTNAM

LETTER TO GENL McDOUGAL

HAYNS HOUSE Near Croton Feby 28 1779

Sir

agreeable to your ordor of the 26 Inſtent Recd 12 Clock P M I marched with my owne Regt as soon as posible to Joyne Colo Burr and ordored Nixons to follow, as I had not then the leaſt doubt of its being your Intention they Should as in Major Platts letter there was no deſtintion of Regts Except the Pirticuler Route of Graton as the Movements of the Enimy Should Point out I was Senſible it was Drawing all the Troops from Kings ferry and peeks kill but I Supposed Learneds Brigade ware ordored down to that Quarter. I was there fore much Suppriſed on Reciving your Letter of the 27th [1] to find I had acted Contrerary to your Intention you are kind enough by way of apoligie for me; to Say "but from preſent "appearance the Service will not Suffer. but this Sir is in my opinion No Excuſe for me for the Enimys Movements might have ben Different you might not have known Nixons Regt was gon and the Service might have Suffered by this mistake as much as in any mistake (or even Diobedence of ordor) whatever. I am Sir perfectly in Humour but a Mistake has ben Commited by Some Body and I have a Sertain Quallity about me that bids me git Rid of it if

[1] Page 134.

I can fairly. which I think I Shall Very eſily when your Honour Conſiders Major Platts letter and a Col° Duty when he Commands a Brigade; I beleave its the Invariable Cuſtom in this Caſe that he takes no more Command of his owne Reg^t^ then any other unleſs he is Pirticularly ordored So to do and I must Confeſs from Major Platts letter I have no Idear that my Command was to be come Regimental only. but to have done with Subject when I arrived at Tarry Town I heard Col° Burr was Marched in Quest of the Enimy I Sent Major Trotter Immediately forward to know his Sittuation and adviſe with him what ordors to Send to Col° Loreing about 3 Clock P M y^e^ 27^th^ I meet Col° Hammond a Mile below White plains Major Trotter Sent me a Billit by him that the Enimy had given Col° Burr the Slip at Marrinek and advised me to Halt, which I did in about half an hour after I had Intiligance that Col° Burr was on his Return I Sent Immediately to halt Col° Smith and Col° Loareing I Suppoſed would not Come farther then North Caſtle with out Further ordors

I Sent Major Trotter this morning early to Turne Col° Loreing Back and Returned with the other two Regiment to there old Quarters

when I was with you laſt I mentioned a New Route from Col° Drakes to the New Bridge I came Home that way and find it Exceeds my Expectation if the Commeſary and artificers are obliged to Ritire it will be by that Route

the Gally that Came up to Tarrytown on the 26^th^ lise there yet. I think if the Guards do there duty I am efetually provided againſt any Supprise if there Should any Number of Gallys come up as far this place I ſhould think it best to have the Quarters of the Brigade leſs Extenſive which might be effected

by Quartering them in Barns as well as Houſes which may be don with out much Inconveenency to the men, in any wathe the Gallys will be likely to be up the River. and the Guards might be better looked in too and the duty much eſir for the Men

REPORT TO HIS EXELENCY PREVIUS TO THE ATTACK OF STONEY PONT

CONSTITUTION ISLAND July 13th 1779

Report of obſervations made at Vanplanks Point taken this Morning

the Roof of the Block Houſe in Fort De La Fyatte taken off Proverbelly with a Deſigne to add another Story of Timber work — the Block houſe on Stonney hill quite incloſed with a parrepet. a New flaſh or Redan in a line of there other works Next the Block houſe on the North River a New work on the old Barbitt battery, — built by the americans Enlarged and Eambraſure made which Rake the beach and flats towards the bridge. the abbette [abatis] in front of there works continued down the bank and acroſs the beach to Low warter marke

from the Bridge acroſs the Marſh towards the Stone houſe is about Eighty Rod the Beach here at low warter, is about three Rod wide nearly on a levil with the Marſh where was a Small fier where I apprehend a night picket is poſted after you leave the Marſh between the high bank and the warter the beach is not Quite So wide the distence to march here before you are in the Rear of there line of works is alſo about Eighty Rod directly in front and under the Rake of the afore Said american battery which is Retiered from there line of Works and is built on a part of the Point that projects more in to the bay

and Servs as a kind of flank and in front of which there Encampment muſt be entered

I had in my party a Number of intiligent Soldiers of Colº Nixon Regiment who were Stationed in the Spring of laſt year; and this at the Stone houſe I proposed to them laſt eving to pilate me acroſs the crick below the bridge in ordor as I pretended to take of Some of the out guards they told me about three Rod from the bridge they Could take me acroſs where the warter at lo tide was not more then knee deep I wiſhed them to carry me further off in ordor to avoide a Sentry which I apprehended might be poſted at the bridge they told me they could not I aſked them why they Said the flats was mire knee deep in general and Some places much deeper I aſked them if they were Sure of it they Said yes they had often waided in upon them and Some of them had on a bar that Run out ben Quite to the Island I aſked them if there was no giting to the Beach in Rear of the bridge from the Island they Said no. I aſked then if there was no weidening place up the crick in the Marſh they Said there was Nearly oppoſit the block house but the did not know if they could find it in the night and aded the Crick was very winding Runing Quite acroſs the Marſh Several times and they knew of but one place that it was fordable — I aſked them if this crick had communication with the other above the point they Said they beleved not. they had gon from the grate Rode by a Sertain log houſe (which they deſcribed) to the Stone houſe on the Point in a foot path in which they croſsed only a Very Small Rum and that it was hard ground in general

the bridge over the crick at the upper end of the point is not only Striped of the plank but the String

pieces are most of them gon the butment only Remain good — I took my Stand this morning before light a few Rods from the old church the morning was not So favourable as I could have wiſhed but I had Several fair obſervation as the Sun paſsed through the openings of the clouds I could See very little of the works on Stonney Point Northing to contradict my obſervation made from the hill on the weſt Sid the River — on the beach South of the crick that Sepperets Stonney point or Island from the main I discovered a Small guard Round a fier — and on Vanplanks Point neare the edge of the hill coming onto the Marſh from the Stone houſe towards the bridge was alſo a fier where I conclude they had a picket in the night and from which a Sentry it is most proverble is poſted on the beech at or neare the Bridge haveing made all the obſervations in my power and being determened to come Immediately to camp I marched my party which conſiſted of fifty (Rank & file) and paraded them in open Vew Near the church they maned there works and the guad at the Stone houſe Turned out which Conſiſted of one officer and about 20 men. the Exceſſive Rain while I was out prevented my being abel to perform the Service Sooner

I am Sir your Humble Serv^{t}

Exelency Genl WASHINGTON

there is no posability of carrying artillery from peaks kill to the brick Houſe or church without paſsing the common Rode in that part oppoſit the upper end of the Point

Sence I Saw your Exelency in converſation with L^{t} Col^{o} Smith and Major Thompſon they Informed me that when a part of Col^{o} Nixons Regiment was Stationed in Forte De La Fyette, they Examined

the foot path (Spocken of by the Soldiers) leading off between the two cricks in ordor to make their Retreat that way in caſe the Enimy had poſſeſtion of the two Bridges Col° Smith and Major Thomſon gave the Same account as mentioned by the Soldiers and add that at preſent no cariages can paſs that way but it may be made a Tollarable Rode. when I had determind to Return I Shew my party neare the church they maned there works and an officers guard of about 20 parraded by the Stone Houſe which Remains only Incloſed with an abbettee

the bridge over Peeks kill below Continental village was brook up when our people left that Quarter

LETTER TO HIS EXELENCY

LIGHT INFENTRY CAMP Auguſt 8th 1779

Dear General

Incloſed is a Coppy of a letter Just Recived from Col° Fleury. I have Some time meditated an attack on the Enemyes picket but from deſertions from our parties below which has happened almoſt every day this week paſt I have ben diverted from it Col° Fleury yeſterday propoſed going down I thought the Wether favorable to the Deſigne and hoped the event would have ben fortunate

Col° Butler was down a few days ago with 150 men he brought an ordor for them from General Wayne I know northing of his plan or the obſervation he made

the Enimy have a Roe Boat up as far as Sailsburys Island

I have nearly Compleeted a Circuler Flaſh with two Embreſures at Fort Montgommery which Rake the River Quite from Antonys Nose to Fort Clinton —and one Embreſure that looks up the River

I shael begin no other work with out your furthe ordors

I am with the Highest Reſpect your
Excelencys Humble Serve[t]

LETTER FROM GEN[L] WAYNE[1]

ACQUAKENCUNK BRIDGE 15[th] Nov. 1779
One oclock. A. M.

Dear Sir

I am favored with yours of 10 oClock last Evening & approve of your halt until you are fully Informed of the truth or falsity of the Report, — should it prove true, you'l endeavor to discover the Enemie's numbers &c. & if thought practicable to attempt them, I will join you with the Remainder of the troops, — otherwise you'l retire with Caution, looking well to your left at Closter [?] Landing —— as the Enemy may Otherwise throw you by the Paramus Route — should it be a false alarm we perhaps may not have an Other Opportunity to Effect the busineſs

Yours Sincerely
ANT[Y] WAYNE

C[olo] PUTNAM

A LETTER FROM GEN[L] WAYNE

Light Infantry Camp SECOND RIVER
11[th] Dec[r] 1779

Dear Sir

His Excellency is very desirous to ascertain whether the Enemy have made an Embarkation or not, — I am Informed that from Peth Amboy which is about 20 Miles from this place, a very good view may be had of the Bay & Sandy Hook —

[1] In the collection of Charles G. Slack, Esq., Marietta, Ohio.

which together with accounts to be procured from the Inhabitants, may enable you to determine whether an Considerable number have sailed

I have directed an Officer & Eight Dragoons to attend at your quarters — and wish you to proceed to that place or some other good lookout as soon as posible — you had better return as far as Elizth Town this Evening — perhaps Colo Seeley may save you the trouble of proceeding further by Certain Intelligence of their Sailing — I wou'd therefore wish you to call on him on your way down

I am Sir your Huml Sert

ANTY WAYNE

NB you will find an Order on any forage Master for such Hay or Grain as you may want for the use of the party

Colo PUTNAM.

COPPY OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT OF COUNCILL.[1]

SOLDIERS FORTUNE April ye 22d 1780

Sir

Agreeable to ordors recived from Major General Howe I have Sent Capt Benjn Gardner Enfigne Peletiah Everitt and Enfign Clark with a Noncommiffioned officer into the State on the recruting Service

I have directed them to Notefie there arrivel to the Honorable Councill & Major General Heath and to follow their or his Inftructions or the Directions of the Field officer who may be appointed to Superintend the Recruiting Service

I wifh them much Sucefs but I greatly feare they or any others will have little: one thing which I think

[1] Jeremiah Powell.

will Greatly Impead there Succeſs is the Deducting the Town Bounties in Ballancing the Soldiers accounts

The Soldiers know very well how to Diſtinguiſh between Bounty and wages & that at the time of Inliſting; the Town, as well as State and Contnantal Bounty was a part of the Contract Intirly Seperate from his wages and had no more apprehention of haveing it taken from him then any other part of his property

I have not the Vanity of being thought a politician nor the Preſumtion to Teach the Senators of my Country — but I think the Honorable Council & Aſembly ought to know and that it is my duty to tell you what the General Sentments of the officers of the army are on this head

That the Town bounties are the legal acquired property of the Soldier, as much as any he Poſſeses; is to me a Self evident propoſition and he that Should deny it would want better evidence then his Eyes to prove that the Sun Shined in a clear Day, nor will any I Suppoſe deny but the Soldiers Property is as Legally obtained, and as Sacred as other peoples for althoe by a Body I would ever Revere the officers of the Army are Excluded from Some of the priviledges of Denizens, yet I beleve none will ever pretend that the men who at your Call Steped forth into the field as it ware With Halters about there necks for the defence of Liberty and property; who never have nor never Wiſh to forſake its Cauſe; who thoe many times Naked and deſtitute yet have Perſeveared through could Wet and dry with a Virtue Unperleled in Hiſtory — I Say I Beleve none will ever pretend that the property of theſe men Should be leſs guarded then others or that any Legliſhleture

on earth Shall Wantonly or Illegally Deprive them of a penny —

Wherefore I conclude that if it be True that the Town Bountis was a Part of the Contract Intierly Separat from the Idea of Wages that this Bounty is the Soldiers legal acquired property as much as any he poſſeses that this is as legally acquired and to be as Sacredly Guarded as other peopels

Then it follows that it is not in the Power of any Legliſhlature on earth to Discese him of it without Violateing the Natural Rights of mankind — Unleſs it be by legal Forfiture — What crime is chargable on the Soldier I am at a loſs to concve. I am told the deducting the Bounties is on the prinſible of equil Juſtice. this Idea Implys that it was Injuſt or unlawfull for the Soldier after Serveing one and prehaps two Campaigns (and doing what they call there own turn) to Recive a Hire or bounty to do a Turn for any other Individuals or the Town at large; that money obtained by Such Sail of Service even althoe it was don on the prinſible of makeing the Burden of the War Equil is no better then Robery and the party comes very well off if he meets with no other puniſhment then the forfiture of the money So obtained — or this principle of doing equil Juſtice muſt Imply that the Soldiers Should have no Ideas of Seperate property or of acquired perſonal property but that What they have ben taught to conſider as there own, is really the property of the State which they have a right to take when they pleaſe or at leaſt Such a part of it as will leve the Soldiers Equelly Poor

on Such Ideas of Equil Juſtice or any that can be drawn from the premiſes I can concive no greater abſurdity in leveling the property of the whole Community then in deducting the Town Bounty from the

Soldiers the one may be more difiquelt then the other to effect which is the only differenc I can Concive — I am aware that it will be objected that by the Reſolve of February 1779 Reſpecting Makeing good the depretiation of the Soldiers Wages the Town Bounties ware to be taken Into Conſideration — to which I anſwer that the Court might as well have Reſolved not to make good any depretiation as to have Reſolved they would make it good only in part or which is the Same thing that the Town Bountys Should be Taken into Conſideration and Charged as wages — to Say the leaſt the only difference is the one is a grater act of Injustice the other a leſs. but if the fore going propoſitions are true the former is by no means of So dangerous a Tendency as the latter for as the Refuſeing to make good the depretiation of the money would have ben no more then the Refuſeing to pay a Juſt debt on the Same prinſiple that paper money Should pay Silver debts, there would be no want of a preſident in its favor nor Pretended Reaſons in its favor but for a Legliſlature to take from me the property that I have acquired by privet Contract or any othe lawfull means and for no other Reaſon then Becauſe I have Traded to better advantage then othes-- is a Meaſure — — I will not name — and is big with a Miſchief I Shuder to think of

Thus I have Indeavored to give you a Juſt Idea of the opinon the Army (So far as I am acquainted with there Sentments) entertain of the Matter and which to them appears an Inſermountable obſtical to the Recruiting men for the War — I may have don it in a language prehaps Quite UnCourtly and too Indilicate for the ears of So August a Body to hear yet I can only apologize by Saying they are the sent-

ments of an Independent Honeſt Hart; & my only motive (in the painfull Taſk) is to give you that Information he thinks you ought to have — – that you may not have too grate dependence on filling your Regiment by Voluntary Inliſtment when he thinks the proſpect So very Small

if I am Miſtaken and there ſhould be any conſiderable Number Inliſted I ſhall be moſt happily disapponted — but if the Contrerary and there Should be few Raiſed or the Regiments filled with levies for a ſhort time which from the nature of there Ingagemt can by no means be depended on equil with Reguler Troops and any fatal Conſequences ſhould Enſue the World will Judge whither the Gentelmen of the army and they only are to Blame

LETTER FROM COL° THOMPSON

LONG ISLAND NEW UTRICHT May 1. 1780

Dear Sir

Yours of April 19th Came to hand accept my Sincere thanks for your kind Wishes — as you Observe I have taken a Different Post from what I Expected but hope I shall Support it with the Fortitude of a Soldier. if Humanity is the Truly & Distinguished Characteristic of the Brave I am among those who are Truly So meaning the particular Family I live in — I am happy to hear my Friends In the Army are well, and that my Friend capt Goodale is Better — your hopes of a General Exchange I fear are frustrated — please make my Compliments to all the Gentlemen of my Acquaintance In the Army — Accept the Thanks of the Whole of the Maſsachusets Officers for your very kind Aſsistance to their Agent In procuring the Supply he has brought us. & Depend they Each wish the Oppertunity to give you

Thanks in person. In hopes this May ſoon be the Case —

Believe Me to be
Dear Sir
Your Much Oblig'd
& Most Obed^{t}
Hum^{le} Servant
JOSEPH THOMPSON

Col. PUTNAM

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS.
May 24th. 1780

Dear Sir

I have ordered sevanty five Men under a Maj^{r} from Gen^{l} Glovers Brigade, to hold themselv's in constant readineſs to Join you when ever you should order it, which you will do when you think it neceſsary —

I think Col. Miller should be inform'd of your approach, and design, and that you should aid, and cooperate with each other should it become requisite. If you should outstay the Provision you have been served with, and can not supply yourself where you are, you will apply to Commiſsary Forsyth, or any other Commiſsary you think proper — It would not be improper to have some look outs upon the River below you, lest the Enemy while they amuse us another way, should operate that way, especially as the Gen^{l} Writes me that they have Veſsels in the North River

I am Dear Sir
With Respect
Y^{r} Most Ob^{d} Se^{t}
ROB^{T} HOWE

NB

I enclose you a letter to Col. Miller, which you will read Seal and forward to him as soon as poſsible

Sir if you should have
occasion to send to me you
will find me at M^r Beckmans
or hear of me there

LETTER TO GEN^L HOWE

CONTINANTAL VILAGE, May 24^th 1780. 10Clock A M

Dear General

on further Conſideration of the Matter I have determined to take poſt between the New Bridge and Pines Bridge So as to be able to fall in with the enimy in caſe they attempt to Steal a March by the Fords and from whence I ſhall be ready to move to the right or left in caſe they Should paſs by eithr of the Bridges which I think is moſt proverble as a Body of Horſe muſt be Exceedingly embarraſed in there march by any other Rout. my opinion is that they will Come up by Pines bridge and Return by the New and proverblay a Body of Infentry may advance if not Croſs at the New Bridge to cover there Retrete with the Booty and the Sittuation I propoſe from the nature of the Country will Inable me to Fall in with the Horſe while Seperated from the foot while the party from the Ferry and the guard at Colla Bergh will be able to amuſe the foot Should any appere or act againſt the Horſe as ocation may offer

100 men from Nixons officers Included left this place at Sunriſe this morning — I have waited for Glovers till now that I might Send you there Number — they are not arrived I wait no longer

the Troops have taken three days provition, Should any more be ordored on pleſe to let it be lodged at Hayns where the officer of the guard for the Newbridge keeps if you write to me this day or

night Major Strong [?] will direct the Expreſs where I may be found northing Turning up tomorrow morning I ſhall be at Hayns

I am Dear Sir yours with
Reſpect
RUFUS PUTNAM

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HEATH

ROXBURY May 25th 1780

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 23rd ulto came duly to hand. I would have made application to the Hon^{ble} the General Aſsembly for the promotions mentioned in your Letter, had not a Reſolve of Congreſs which I apprehend you had not seen at the Time of writing your Letter barr^{d} it. I hope to have the pleaſure of takeing you by the hand in a few Days, and have many things to say, will defer the whole to that time. — We have no news except from the Southward.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your Obedient Serv^{t}
W HEATH

Colonel PUTNAM

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

Headquarters HIGHLANDS 25th May 1780

Dear Sir

My Intelligence makes me certain the Enemy have heard of our Movements & have temporarily suspended the Execution of their Plan, at the same time as I hear the Horse they have collected are not return'd to their former Owners & Stations, which they would not be at the Expence of foraging were their Intentions absolutely laid aside. — I think it may not be improper by some Movements to impreſs

them with the Idea that you have retired to the Highlands by which Means they may be led to execute their Scheme — & you have an Opportunity of entrapping them — For this Purpose three or four Days Provision for you shall be sent to King's Ferry, instead of sending it to Haine's, & you will make your Movements in such Manner as is best calculated for deceiving the Enemy, which by moving off, & by other Methods, & by returning in the Night with Suddenneſs & Secresy to some convenient Post, may poſsibly be effected. —

You will endeavour to obtain every poſsible Information of the Enemy's Motions & Designs, of which you will give me the earliest Information —

I am Dear Sir
with great Respect
your most obedient
ROBERT HOWE

LETTER TO GEN^{L} HOWE

COLLABERGH May 25th 1780 6 Clock P M

Dear General

I Sent your letter by Expreſs to Col^{o} Millir yeſterday, a line from him is this moment come to hand — no Intilligence of the enimy in his Quarter — (he is on the Rode from Pine bridge — Youngs) — the Patrolls I Sent to wards Singſing laſt night Reported that the Inhabitent Informed them the Enimy ware up as far as Stincoxs [?] above Tary Town on the River Rode but by accounts from perſons I Sent down this Morning I beleve they ware not but that the Report was ſpread laſt night by Some Villins who went off to New york from Singſing I ſhall Poſt my Self this night between the Bridges and may be herd of tomorrow at Pine Bridge

Our Provition will be out tomorrow night I have Sent my ordors to Mr Forſyth for Provitions for four days to be Sent to Hayns Houſe unleſs you think Proper I Should Retire when the preſent Supply is out — I have no doubt but they have Intiligence in New york of my being in this quarter and will Proverbly delay there Ravage till they here I am Retired and may then undertake it if you think Proper I Should tarry longer I beg leve to Suggest whither it would not be Proper to ordor the Provitions I have wrote for to Kings Ferry that I ſhould on Saturday Morning give out that I am coming up to the High lands and March accordingly for that Quarter but altering my courſe march to kings Ferry and Return the first or Second Night to a proper poſt in this Quarter. whither it might not be more likely they would come out Soon then my continuing here

I hoope for your further directions by the bairer Should you order me up when my preſent Supply is out or that I Should retire to Kings Ferry it will be Neſeſſary Major Campbell Should have your ordor where to Send the Provition otherwiſe I Suppose they will Com on to Hayns agreeable to what I have wrote to him

I am &c —

Genl HOWE

LETTER FROM GENL HOWE

Head quarters HIGHLANDS 26th May 1780

Dear Sir

The enclos'd letter[1] written previous to the Reception of your favour[2] which came to me just now, will shew you how much we Coincide in opinion. You will therefore take your measures Accordingly —

[1] Page 149. [2] Page 150.

Capt[n] Bannister wrote me the last Evening that you had Called for the Fatigue men from Verplanks Point, if they are not immediately neceſsary, I should wish them returned as I want these works Completed as soon as poſsible, and you may Call them out Again the moment you find it requisite. You will guide your Self however as to Returning them or Calling them out, as circumstances and your own Discretion shall point out to be proper. I am sir with much Respect

Your most ob[t] Servant

R HOWE

LETTER FROM GEN[L] HOWE

VERPLANK'S 28[th] May

Dear Sir

I make no doubt you will pursue every Measure to gain Intelligence of the Enemy's Movements, of which you will transmit me an instant Account. I shall remain at, or about this Place until Eve[g]. — I have ordered Nixon's Brigade to advance to Peek's Kill Church, near to M[r] Beckman's — should it become neceſsary for them to advance, you will transmit them Orders, — notifying however the matter to me, that I may know what you are doing, & govern myself accordingly.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient Servant

ROBERT HOWE

LETTER TO GEN[L] HOWE

SING SING May 28[th] 1780 — 4Clock PM

Dear Gen[l]

There was about 40 of the Enimy Horſe here about 7 or 8 Clock in the morning but Retired ſoon being Informed there ware 300 men at the bridge — I

arrived my Self at Collabergh by 12 & immediatly Dispatched a Ser^{t} & Six Soldiers of the guard on Horſe back to obſerve there motions and bring me Intiligence I have had no Return as yet therefore I preſume the enemy have Retired at leſt as far as Terry Town — on the Troops arriveing here I dispatched an officer and party to march in Som of the bye Tracts as far down as poſable and Return to-morrow- — M^{r} Odel this moment arrived 3 mile below Terry Town Informs that the enimy paſsed his houſe on there Return about 11 Clock A M — he thinks there ware about 50 or 60 on Horſe back he Saw no foot but heard of Small partys being out and Plundering Some bye Settelments he beleves the Horſemen had about 40 head of cattle with them — they carry^{d} of Som Inhabitents priſonr Justice Shearwod was made priſonr but parolled with Some others

Unfortunate for me I was not at the bridge as they were Informed they are now beyond my Reach

Nixons Brigade cannot be wanted — Benſon will Return to the Point this night

I ſhall take my Quarters at Collabergh where I Shall be a day or two makeing Proper menover in the night

I am ſir with eſteem y^{r}
Humble Servnt
RUFUS PUTNAM

Gen^{l} HOWE

LETTER TO GENL HOWE

COLLA BERGH June y^{e} 1st 1780

Dear Gen^{l}

Your favor of equel date is before me in my laſt I informed you that it was Sill my opinion the enimy would not attempt any thing on this Side Croton

while I continued in this Quarter — — that if you Should think proper to continue me here for any time I Should wiſh to have it in my Power to detach Small party from time to time at leaſt as low as Dobs ferry with Six or Eight days provition to form Ambuſhments on the publik Roads and privet ways by which the enimy commonly advance as a means of gaining the earlieſt Intiligence and which would be a moſt Proverble method of Surprizeing Some of there Small parties — that in ordor to do this either a Commeſary Store Should be keept here or Some Extra provition Should be lodged here for the Supply of Such Small parties that if you thought proper to ordor a Brigade here leaveing all there havay baggage behind a Boate or two would always Secure the Stoars — they would be a ſupport to Colº Miller in caſe of any movement againt him and In my opinion Efectually Cover Crompond — which I think ought to be protected if poſable

Sence I wrote you laſt I have marched with the paty in the moſt unfrequented Routs through Woods Field &c — to Sing Sing — North Caſtle Pines Bridge — Crompond and Returned here to day. I have now three days provition on hand — a Scout Conſisting of a 1 Sub — 1 Serᵗ 2 Copˡ. 20 privet March this night on the prinſiple before Sugested with ordor to Continu out till there provition is expended Whene ever I have bin here a picket Commanded by a Sub is Poſted on the North Sid of Croton to Patroll in the night between the two Bridges at Day light they Croſs the River Traverſe the Country foure or five mile South and Return in the after noon

as I have not taken any pirticular Stand till now I have not medeled with the guard at the New Bridge but as the River is Fordable in almoſt any Place

Should the Enimy advance to Crompond the Rout they are Likely to take is more Determinable by the Perticuler Raing of Mountains &c &c then any other circumſtance — on this prinſiple I Shall tomorrow ordor the Sub & that part of his guard now at this place up to Pine bridge with ordors to occupie During the night Some perticuler Paſs in that Quarter

I am Sir your Humble
Ser^vt

LETTER FROM GEN^L HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS 3^d June 1780

Dear Sir

Intelligence I have received makes it neceſsary to compact our Force, & to be attentive rather to defensive than offensive Operations; for this Reason it will be proper for you to return to your Brigade, most of the Troops under your Command, & the situation of Matters does not admit of Delay —

As every Means poſsible should be fallen upon for obtaining Provisions to support the Troops here where Investiture is not improbable, I should wish you to take Measures to collect, principally in the Counties towards the Enemy, a Number of Cattle in the Manner least distreſsing to the Inhabitants —

This you may effect either in Person or by Directions to Col Miller & to carry into Execution the Measure, the Impreſsing Horses may not be omitted, should it be neceſsary —)

If you find it convenient to go in Person, which I should rather wish, take a Detachment of fifty men of your present Command, & proceed to or direct Col Miller to meet you at such Place as you shall appoint — still holding in Mind your Relation to this Post, & the Neceſsity of repairing to it with Expidition *the Moment it becomes requisite* —

(The Cattle taken should be particularly noticed, that the Persons deprived of them may have them safely return'd should we not use them (which in Cases of Neceſsity alone will happen) & that they may be paid for them should Occasion compel us to make use of them —

An Officer of your Prudence & Knowledge of Service need not be told that all your Vigilance will be requisite upon this Occasion, & that as the Enemy will certainly counteract your Measures if they can, that Expidition is the Soul of your Enterprise & the only Foundation upon which the Succeſs of it depends —

I am Dear Sir
With Respect
Your most obedient Servant

I do not mean you should go much lower than our Lines to collect the Cattle I mention because I can not suppose many can be obtain'd from thence, but those Cattle which are most expos'd to the Enemy within our Lines & those below them which can safely & expiditiously be had should first claim Attention —

You will inform me from Time to Time where you may be found, that I may send to you should it be neceſsary —

I inclose a Letter to Col Miller which is open for your Inspection — Be pleas'd to read & forward it —

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

HIGHLANDS 4th June 1780

Dear Sir

From late Intelligence I'm induced to believe the Operations of the Enemy will not be so sudden as I have expected — you will therefore continue with your Command upon the Lines until you shall hear further, from me — Those of your Men detached in

Consequence of my Orders of Yesterday, I shall immediately replace from this Post—

I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient

ROBT HOWE

LETTER TO GENL HOWE

COLLA BERK June ye 4th 1780

Dear Genl

your favor of the 3d inſtent[1] came to hand at 12 Clock laſt night, with an open letter to Colo Miller (my letter was not Signed nor directed but on the Rapper) I have marked the contents of bothe—as I have not noted any cattle Southward of Croton but a few Milk Cows and as ColoMiller is much better acquainted with the Number of cattle in his Quarter then I am a Detachment of 50 men will March for his Quarter this Morning—to enable him to Execute your ordors of which I Shall Send him Such extracts as will be neceſſary for him to have—the Remainder of the detachment will march to Joyne there Brigade by 11- or 12 this day to which time I Shall wait for the gentry below as I have Receid Information from below that makes it not ImProverble they will be up to day either in Small numbers or in Force—

I am Sir. with reſpect you Humble

Servt

RUFUS PUTNAM

Genl HOWE

LETTER FROM GENERAL HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS

June 5th 1780

Dear Sir—

I was over at West Point when your last letter arrived, and in coming over some way or other it got

[1] Page 155.

lost, so that I know not its contents — Please immediately inform me what it contained —

I think you had better continue out a few days longer, and if you think it neceſsary send out some Parties where you think it proper to do so, if there is any object for it — The Enemy have not yet returned the Horses they impreſsed to the owners of them, and I dare say mean to come out again. it will therefore be neceſsary for you to have good intelligence of their motions, and to be guarded at all Points as they may come out in Force against you —

I am Dear Sir
With Respect
Yr Most Obd Hum Sert
ROBERT HOWE

LETTER FROM GENL HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS
June 6th 1780

Dear Sir.

The information of last night & this morning, various ways receiv'd confirm me that the Enemy are coming out in Force. Colo Sproat will deliver you the Genl Order of today. I wish you to move with the utmost dispatch with such Troops as you can get ready, and let the rest follow you. — Your object is what it was when you went out before. your then Orders will do for you now — another smart Detachment of Guards join'd Delancy yesterday morning, and some more Horse. the men were all served with ammunition, their arms scrutinously examined, and some new arms served out. Boats were collected and collecting. their Gally the last evening came higher up the River. they mean to act both by land and Water. you will therefore have

all your Eyes about you, and let Colo. Miller know of this, and also how to commune and cooperate with you —

I am Sir
with Respect
Your most O.b. Sert
ROBERT HOWE

P S
You need not halt at Peekskill but proceed where service Requires you —

LETTER TO GENL HOWE

COLLA BERGH — BARRATS HOUSE June 8th 1780

Dear Genel

I arrived about 2 Clock the night we left the village — northing new has transpired in this Quarter Sence

the letter forwarded with this I receved from Colo Miller

I Send you priſoner a perſon who Calls him Self George Moulton Sais he belongs to Burgoins Convention troops Deſerted from them when they ware on there March to Virginia — that he Returned to Maſſachusetts State — — Inliſted in one of there Regiments Some months paſt Red 300 Dollars State bounty of Mr Newell at Leiceſter Muſter Muſtrd for the County of Worceſter that he marched for Camp with a Sert whoſe name he has forgot as alſo the name of the Colo or Lt Co of the Regt he was to Joyne — — — that he deſerted the Sert neare Doctor Perreys in Crompond was taken up by Som men going to Colo Millers about 3 mile from Pines bridge

Colo Miller Sent him to me laſt evening

I am Sir with due Reſpect
your Humble Servt
RUFUS PUTNAM

Genl HOWE

LETTER TO GEN^{L} HOWE

COLLA BERGH June y^{e} 9th 1780

Dear General

Northing new in this Quarter Sence my laſt — I send you a perſon who calls him Self James Griffin and that he is a Diſarter from the 17th Reg^{t} of Britiſh Light Draggoons he was taken up at Sing Sing by a Scouting party yeſterday morning Sais he was going from Connecticut to philidelphia to Seek labour but it is a doubt with me wether he was not going

I have Directed the Commeſary of gen^{l} Nixons Brigade to move his Store to Peeks kill landing, and Shall draw my Supplys of provition from him

If you think proper to ordor M^{r} Auſtin Conducted to the Brigade now at Fiſh kill or any other Conducted to lodge three Hundred Dozen of Cartridgs with Capt Baneſter we can Supply our Selves from that Quarter when ever we have ocation

I am Sir with eſteam your
Humble Servent

LETTER TO GEN^{L} HOWE

COLLABERGH — June 11th 1780

Dear General

I Send you under guard a perſon who calls him Self Philip Conner Sais he diſerted the Enimy I incloſe you the account he gave of himſelf here

I aſked him many Queſtion Relateing to the Cores number and Sittuation of the Enimy but could git northing from him he was taken up between Pins bridge and Sing Sing by a patroll who meet him in the Roade on the top of a hill So that it was not in his power to eſcape them after they came in ſight he was armed in Cow boy moade I have detained him

two days in hops to git Some further account of his Real Carractor as its doubtfull to me whither he is a Diſerter or not but can learn northing further then his own account — we have No accounts from below

I am Dear Gen[l] with Reſpect
your Humble Serv[t]
RUFUS PUTNAM

Gen[l] HOWE

LETTER TO GEN[L] HOWE

COLLABERGH June y[e] 11[th] 1780. 10[h] A: M:

Dear General

by a perſon from below arrived this moment I am Informed that it is reported and fully beleved by Whig and Tory in the Neighbourhood of Kings Bridge that the enimy have had a Sevear Drubing in the Jerſey a Heſſian gen[l] killed and a Britiſh Mortally Wounded that between three & foure hundred Wounded are brought into New york that yeſterday or the day before all the Troops that could be ſpaired ware drawn from York & long Island as a reinforſement that all the Britiſh horſe except Delances are in the Jerſys — I hope this is all true I beleve the Varaſety of the Man is not to be doubted and that our frinds below fully beleve the report — but my Informant dos not Stop here — he Sais the Refuges cannot be reinforced and now is the time to take them off — for my own part was there a proper garriſon at West Point and it dependencs, I Should preſs your Honnor for leve to make the attempt In Conjuntion with Col[o] Shepard and Col[o], Miller — but whither the Beeting is So Compleat as reported whither the Troops Said to be drawn off as a reinforcement may not be now on Board of Tranſports in the Bay, whither the Troops reembarking from

Eliſabeth Town the whole may not proceed Immediately up the river haveing Drawn his Exelency Gen[l] Waſhington quite down in to that Quarter are Queſtions I think ought to be Conſidered — — and whither in caſe of our making the attempt and an accident Should befall us the Conſequence might not prove fatal to the poſt of Weſt Pont — from theſe Conſiderations I cannot Importune for leve but if you think proper to ordor it it will gratifie many officers and will be

Cherfully undertaken by
Sir your moſt obedient
Humble Servent
RUFUS PUTNAM

LETTER FROM GEN[L] HOWE

Dear Sir

I am obliged to you for the informations you give me, and hope they are true — — I imagine I shall meet official accounts at Kings Ferry where I shall be to day, in order to make some arrangments. If you are at Callaberg and can without inconvenience come to Kings Ferry, I should be glad to speak with you. if you can not come if you send a Person to me I should be glad, as I may have something to do in consequence of the Expreſs I hope to have from Head Quarters. dont come if service will suffer by it if not I should be glad to see you I shall be there and there about until afternoon and shall look for you as soon as posſible if as I said above it is convenient I am with Respect Dear Sir

yr most ob serv
R HOWE

Monnday, June 12[th] 1780

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

Dear Sir

The news I have had from Morristown, instead of puting it in my power to act offensively, requires me to Compact my Force — You will therefore retire to Callaberg, or in a situation so much in the Vicinity of West Point — that You can repaire to it upon the shortest notice —

I am Dear Sir Your
Obedient Ser^{t}
R HOWE

June 12th 80

Col^{o} PUTNAM

LETTER [ORDERS] FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

HEAD QUARTERS 16th June 1780

Dear Sir

The Gen^{l} directs that you instantly return with the Troops under your Command to your old Cantonment at the Village; No Time is to be lost —

your most obedient
W SARGENT
Aide de Camp

LETTER TO GEN^{L} HOWE

COLLABERGH June y^{e} 16th 1780

Dear General

Cap^{t} Serjents letter of this day[1] Signifiing your Pleaſure that I ſhould Return to the Vilage is before me

I ſhall be there before Morning at leaſt as far as Peeks kill or the Bald Hill — — except a Scout which are below I ſhall notifie Col^{o} Miller of my withdrawl — the laſt accounts from Below is that the

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priſoners ware Removed out of the Shugar Houſe on Board of Ship

the air is clear and no Veſſels appear in the River

I am Dear Gen yr Humble

Serv^{t}

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS
June 18th 1780

Dear Sir —

The Enemy with some of their Ships are off Fallows point, and others lie at Sing-Sing. in their way up they came to, and cannonaded the Shore off Sing-Sing, and its thought Landed men. I would wish you to set out, so as to arrive at or about Collebarrack by daylight with a small party of Twenty five, or Thirty men in order to make observations and gain Intelligence. — I have directed Col^{o} Miller who is at Crompond to move to Collebarrack, so as to be there about the same time, and have ordered him (without taking notice that you were Detached) in case he fell in with a Superior officer to join him if neceſsary, or if with an Inferior officer (not Attached to a Post) to order him to join his command should it be requisite. You will therefore govern yourself accordingly, and not communicate the contents of this letter. you are not to forget that you are to repair to this Post whenever it is requisite, and not to leave it so far in your Rear, but that you can be up to it in time. You will acquaint me where you are, and give me the earliest notice of any thing worthy of observation. —

as Patrolling Parties of Sheldons, Millers, and Banisters [?] may be out, you will be careful no mistake happens. —

Should a small Party of Horse of Ten, or Twelve be requisite to you, write to Col. Sheldon at Crompond in my name, and they will I doubt not be furnished. —

N B

I have written to Col° Graton to detach you, but should he be out of the way, you will not wait his return, but proceed with the Party agreeable to this order —

I am Sir
With Respect
your Most Ob^t Sert
ROB^T HOWE

LETTER FROM GEN^L HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS 24^th June 1780

Dear Sir

The Enemy are Advanceing in great Force on the West side of the River by Land, and are imbark'd and progreſsing up the River with a considerable Body of Troops in Veſsels —

Be cautious they do not double you by Water from their Veſsels, or croſs the River when you dont expect it and Surprise you, or cut off your Communication with this Post, to which you are not to forget you are to repair, when your own Observation or Orders from Hence make it neceſsary —

My Intelligence you may depend is Authentic

I am Sir with respect and regard
Your most Ob^d H Ser^t
ROB^T HOWE

Col° PUTNAM

LETTER FROM GEN^L HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS 1^st July 1780

Dear Sir

I am exceedingly anxious for very particular reasons to have an Exact Account of the situation of

the Enemy — and wish you could Employ proper Persons to Obtain it —

The Orders I have received you need not be told restrains me from Enterprise — but as to any adventures of a Day under the Restrictions you mention — I should have no Objections to — though I confeſs as the Enemy are in force from Philips's to New Rochelle, I do not discern the Object of it — I wish it was Convenient for you to see me Early Tomorrow Morning as I want to speak to you —

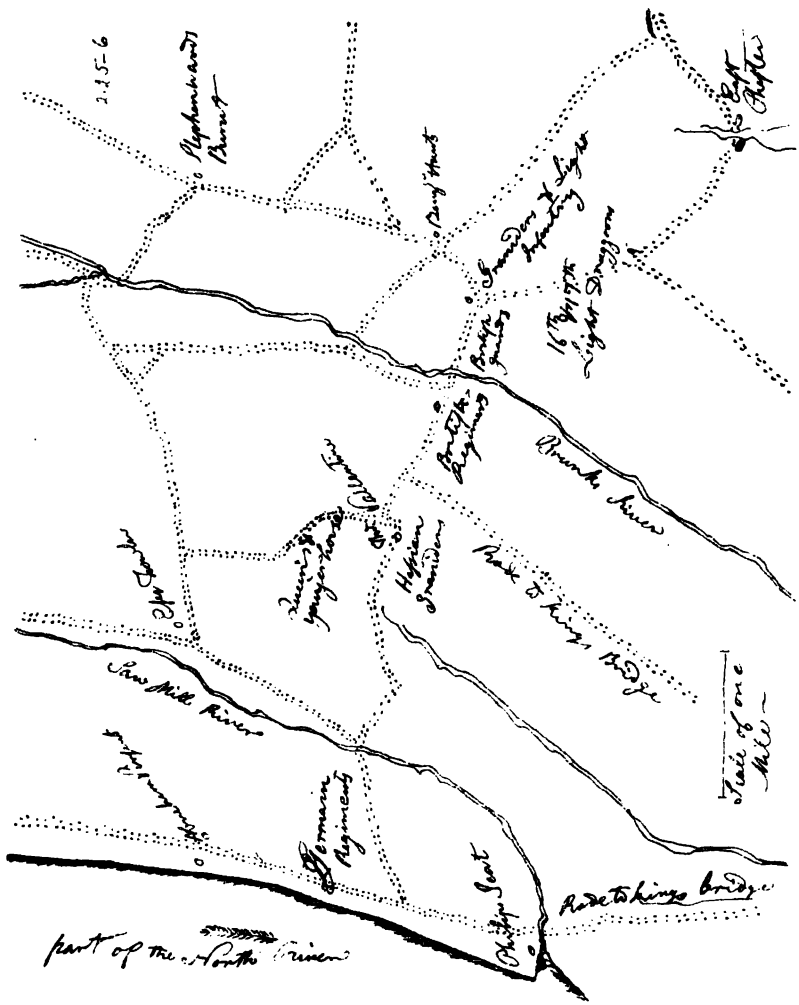
I am Dear Sir
with great Esteem
Your most Obd H Sert
R : HOWE

LETTER TO GENL HOWE

COLLA BERGH July 1 — 1780

Dear General

by an officer returned from Scout laſt night and other Intiligence I am informed that the Enimy Some day this week advanced in force by land from New york and are now Encamped haveing there left on the North River one mile above Philips and there right on the Roade from Stephen Wards to E Cheſter (by this poſition there Right and left wyng is about 5 mile diſtent and from the Nature and Situation of the Country there Camps is Detached or Seperated there left Devition being on Philips Hill between North River and Sawmill River there Center Divition on Voluntines Hill between Sawmill River and the Brunks there Right Devition between the Brunks and E. Cheſter a Sketch of the Country which I gave you will from what I have Said give you a Juſt Idea of there poſition — tis Said and I beleve it to be a fact that a Number of waggon and Sythes for Cuting of Forage Came out yeſterday


Saw Mill River
Bridge
Brunswick Infantry
Hessian Grenadiers
Queens Rangers
Hessian Grenadiers
Brunswick Infantry
Brunswick Infantry
Light Dragoons
Brunswick Infantry
Brunswick Infantry
Brunswick Infantry

I think if it be True that A french Fleet is really on there way Mr Clinton is come out to give his Troops an airing after the fetegue and other Suffering in a Southern Climate and at the Same time has a Diſgne to Secure or Deſtroy all the Forage in his Power which might otherwiſe be of advantage to us —and I Should not be Supprized if he attempts A general Ravage of the Country as far as Salem or Danbury

I am Dear Genl with Reſpect
your Humble Servent
RUFUS PUTNAM

Genl HOWE

LETTER TO GENL HOWE

COLLA BERGH July ye 5th 1780

Dear General

A Priſoner is on his way up who calls himſelf Robert Humble Sais he is a Soldier in the Britiſh Corps Called the Queens Rangers — was Taken in New Jerſey about a Fortnight ago made his eſcape from a guard at Springfield Croſsed at kings Ferry and was taken by my Scouts two days Sence near Mr Youngs on his way to New york — this may be all true but he appears to me to anſwer very nearly to the Deſcription of one of thoſe who brook from the Provoſt at Fort Put — a few days ago — there is alſo coming on a Deſerter from the Yajer Core who came in yeſterday

Laſt evening came in Capt Cuſhing from below — the Britiſh the 3d ware Incamped in the Same poſition I wrote you the other Day Viz there Right below Stephen Wards at the Fork of the Roade leading from E Cheſter to White Plains and Philips there left on the North River one mile above Philips Sir

Henry Clintns Quartrs at Philips Houſe — Report Sais they are 8000 or mor and all agree Near all there army except the Proper Gariſons are out — there Picket on the North River Roade is at Abraham Vinſents two mile advanced and they Patrole as far as Dobs Ferry every Morning either Horſe or Foot and Some tims both that they have about 130 Horſe beſides Delances Corps that the Shiping are moſtly in the Eaſt River that moſt of thoſe who lay by Phillips fell down the 3^{d} Inſtent No Forageing Parties in Front of there line was heard of

five or Six of the Enimy fired on Some inhabitents [?] about one mile from the New bridge y^{e} 2^{d} and wounded one man badly but not Mortally

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

HEAD QUARTERS 7th July 1780

Dear Sir

Those Ravages you speak of committed by a set of Men who are wicked enough to build their Fortunes on the Ruin of their Fellow Citizens, are you may be aſsured Circumstances of infinite Regret & Anxiety to me. — I shall transmit a Copy of your Letter to Governor Clinton, & enforce the Neceſsity of his immediate Influence & Exertions, & that is all I can do, without He will call for, & point out a particular Mode of coercion in us — which if he will do (& I will preſs it upon him) shall by me be adopted with Pleasure. — I dislike the Removal of Sheldon's Horse — it was done without my Knowledge, & I shall remand him — I wish to have your Opinion where he had better be, & whether you could not be more advanced without suffering Surprise, & still

answering the Purpose of repairing to this Place in Time —

I am Dear Sir with great Regard
your most obedient
R HOWE —

This Letter was wrote before the Receipt of yours by the Serjeant of your Detachment — the Gen[l] will answer it fully to Morrow or next Day —

W SARGENT —

LETTER TO GEN[L] HOWE

CROM POND July y[e] 7[th] 1780 De La Vans

Dear General

Haveing ben Informed by the people of Crompond that Col[o] Sheldin had moved five or Six mile in the rear of Cap[t] De La Vans [?] (haveing Detached Cap[t] Cuſhing with his Company to North Caſtle to Joyne Cap[t] Sacket agreable to what was proposed when I Saw you laſt) I Marched to this place yeſterday Morning and as the Shiping are Halled Round into the Eaſt River I Shall not return to Colla Bergh with out you ordor or a movement of the Enimy make it neceſſary and while the Enemy continue there Shiping in the Eaſt River I think that cannot happen

I Send you a Black who calls him Self Robert Sais he belongs to Col[o] Moyland was taken Priſoner last fall and now Diſerted the British but Cap[t] Cushing who took him up Sais he is Supposed to have Diſerted Moyland laſt fall and came up now with foure other on a Plundering match

I am with the higheſt eſteme
you Humble Serv[t]
R P

Gen[l] HOWE

LETTER TO GEN^{L} HOWE

CROMPOND July y^{e} 9th 1780

Dear General

Major Horton is Returned from the Enimys lins where he went with a Flag he was Cloſly confined the whole time he was there and got Very little Intiligenc the Sittuation of the Enimys Incampment is the Same we have ben Heretofore Informed his opinion from good information makes the Britiſh Horse Including Delances Core 400 — I cannot learn any Sertainty of the Shiping being in the Eaſt River — an officer of mine whome I Sent to Aſertain that matter is Juſt Returned and Reports He could Discovr none which he could not fail of doing had they Lain at White Stone the uſual place of randezsvos when on there eaſtern Enterprize — but they might have lain between Hell gate and Hunts Point — or prehaps they may be between Hell gate and New york — the High lands, between Cloſter and Fort Lee on the Weſt Side the River is the beſt place for a look out of this kind

You favor of the 7th Inſtn^{t} [1] came to hand laſt evening I have now 4 days provition on hand and Shall this night Croſs the Croton tomorrow night be at Colla Bergh and the 4th day back to this Quarter In this Toure I Shall be able to aquant my Self better with reſpect to the forage and other Ideas Sugeſted in you letter then at preſent I am — by Tuesday you may expect to here from me again

I am Informed the Pay Masters have recv^{d}. Cloathing for there reſpective regiments I ſhould be exceeding glad thoſe gentelmen might be ordored to Forward the proportion belonging to this Detachment

[1] Page 168.

to Cola Bergh or Crompond on the 14th Inſtent or on any other day or place you Shall think proper and I will be at the place with the Detachment the men here are in much Want Some of the Pay Maſters have wrote to have the men Sent up this cannot be with out Injury to the Line

LETTER FROM GENL HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS
13th July 1780

Dear Sir —

Inclin'd as I have been and always shall be to answer your letters, it has not been in my power untill this moment, which I Embrace to do my Self that pleasure, and now have scarce time to say five Words

I knew not of the manouvers of the Horse untill some days after it was made and Disliking the Post they took, directed Colo Sheldon to alter it — I will now order him to Act with you —

I approve the movements you have made, and shall have no Objections to any future ones you find is Consistant with Prudence and Service to make, always however holding in mind your Relation to this Post, as has been before Set forth —

I want much to learn the Situation of the Enemy, and to know if any Partizan Stroke could be made where the Benefit would warrant the Risque — I am laying my self out for this Purpose on both Sides of the River, and should be glad you would do the Same, and lay your intelligence before me. Very discreet Sensible as well as Confidential Persons should be imploy'd upon this Occasion, or ill Consiquenc's may Ensue —

I beg your Pardon for forgetting untill this moment what you requested about the Clothing — I

have been in such hurry and Confusion that it intirely Slipt my Memory — I hope no inconvenience has happen'd, let me know the Clothing, and if I can Still serve you in it, for I observe the Day you appointed is too near now —

I am Dear Sir
with great Regard
Your most Obd Sert

LETTER TO GENL HOWE

CROM POND July ye 14th 1780

Dear General

I muſt once more Intreat that the Pay Maſters be obliged to forward Cloathing to the Troops at Crompond or that the men may be releved by thoſe who have Shos &c — by Mens time Expiring by Some being allowed to go to there Regnts. to git cloathing and not returning nor any in there room the continantal Troops now on the lins (except Capt Cuſhing Company of which I have no late returns but from the laſt it cannot be above 50) is reduced to 163 noncommiſſioned officers & Privets foure of theſe from the New Hampſhire line diſerted laſt night. from the Inſpection which I made (perſonally) yeſterday, 73 of theſe have no Shoes or Shuch as are very little better than none many of them have only a Single ragged Shirt to there back and Some have none at all

the men of the Maſſachuſetts line know the Pay Maſters have Drawn Cloathing very lately they are Conſtantly makeing application to come up for the Purpos of giting Some — this mode I cannot by any means think proper or Conſistent with the Service eſpecially while our number on the lines are So Small — in our preſent Sittuation we cannot under take

any more night marches nor are we in a Sittuation to act offencively or Defencively in this Ruff country the mens feet being very lame already for want of Shoes

I am Dear Sir with
reſpect you Hum
Ser^{t}
RUFUS PUTNAM

Gen^{l} HOWE

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS 16th July 1780

Sir

You will please grant a Flag to carry down Phebe Langdon and Hannah Vincent with seven children and two waggons & Drivers with their Bedding & wearing Apparel to the Enemy's Lines if you do not like the Drivers get some you can Depend upon I am Sir with Respect

Your most ob^{t} Serv^{t}
R HOWE

LETTER TO GEN^{L} HOWE

JOSEPH GRIFFENS HOUSE near Croton River July 21st 1780

Dear General

there being no Cloathing yet arrived from the Point for the Troops in this detachement I have Sent up 36 Rank & file under the Command of Cap^{t} Satwell [?] who are So deſtitute of Shoes — Shirts or Bothe that Poliſy leaſt they Should Diſert the Service as well as Humanity forbid there being keept on the lines any longer — only 123 Rank & file of Col^{o} Millirs detachment are now left Capt Williams with 35 of Nixons Brigade who ware detached when I came down are Still with Capt Sacket in North Caſtle which

I conſider as doing eſſintial Service in covering that part of the Country

a party of Horſe and foot of 3 or 400 of the Enimy have ben up this week with in Six mile of Pins Bridge; it has ben Reported they ware repairing the Roads from Eaſt Cheſter to New Rochell laſt night it was Reported they ware Retired beyond kings bridge

L[t] Fuller has ben out 5 days for the purpos of finding out the Sittuation of the Enimys guards, Patrolls &[c] I expect him to night whenever he comes I Shall be in Some Meſure to comply with your request of the 13[th] inſt[nt] [1]

I am with the Higheſt Reſpect
You Humble Ser[t]
RUFUS PUTNAM

Gen[l] HOWE

LETTER TO GEN[L] HOWE

GRIFFINS HOUSE nere Croton July 22[d] 1780

Dear Gen[l]

L[t] Fuller is not yet Returned but by one of the guids Sent up laſt night I am Informed from a perſon below Tarry Town of good authority that Admiral Graves is arrived with 6 or 7 Ships of the line Some reported they ware 11. but it was beleved he brough no Troops althoe Reported by the Torys he had ten Thouſand land force with him that the britiſh Troops appeared to be in motion as Reported to return toward New york or on Some Expidition and Rhode Iſland was mentioned that Sir Henry Clinton went off a few nights ago at Midnight to New york that Moſt of the Gen[l] and field officers had lately ben down to York and twas Said on a Councill of War

[1] Page 171.

My Intiligence from the Saw pitts Rec^{d} this Morning Sais the common Report was that Admirael Graves was arrived with 7 Ships of the line and an Expidition was forming againſt Rhode Iſland — A diſerter from the Anſpachers Juſt come in Sais the whole Britiſh Army Moved toward kings Bridge yeſterday Morning at 9 oClock and twas Said they ware going to Long Iſland or Rhode Iſland and Some Said to Philidelpha

I am not Fond of Conjecturing but if its true that Admiral Graves is arrived I think Rhode Island is proverbely the objects of there preſent movements

Col^{o} Graton by letter Haveing Informed me that it was your ordors to Send up the men on my detachment who belonged to the Light Infentry Companys of the Lt Brigade I was under the Neceſſity of recalling Capt William from North Caſtle leveing only Cap^{t} Sacket in that Quarter by deducting theſe and 5 naked men Sent off today our whole detachment except Capt Sackets Company Conſiſts of Cap^{ts} 3 Subs 7 Ser^{t} 14 rank & file 134 and Several of theſe are ſo naked they muſt be Sent up in a day or two beſides there is a much greater propotion of theſe from Nixons Brigade then any other being left by me at Collabergh when the Brigade was down and brough down with me When I Joyned Col^{o} Miller of my retaining theſe Col^{o} Graton Complains; it is equel with me what men I command but with out your ordors I cannot think my Self authoriſed to ſend them up

as the Command is now very Small and prehaps you may think proper to releve the whole detachment very ſoon or at leſt to ogment the numbers before it will be though proper to move lower down I Shall be exceeding glad of leve of Abſence for

five or Six days to Settle Some bufinef at Fredricks burgh with the purchefing Commefary which cannot be So well don after the prefent month; Col° Millir remaining with the datachment in the mean time

LETTER TO GEN^L^ HOWE

DEVENPORTS HOUSE two miles from Pins Bridge
July y^e^ 23^d^ 1780

Dear Gen^l^.

by L^t^ Holden who left the White plains this morning I am Informed that he was told by a woman from Eaft cheſter the Right Wyng of the Britiſh Army Struck tents yeſterday Morning and She was told by the Inhabitent they ware going to Long Island —

I beleve it Beyond doubt they have decampd but where gon unſertain a party to gain Intiligence [?] gos down to night

LETTER FROM GEN^L^ HOWE

Head Quarters HIGHLANDS
25^th^ July 1780

Dear Sir

I have been ingaged in such a scen of Hurry that I have not had a moment to Drop you a line till now — Lieu^t^ Col° Hull with one Hundred and Fifty men will Reinforce you tomorrow, it would be well to Appoint to what Place he must repair — When he arrives you may return the men you have with you to their several Regiments for tho' I call it in Orders a *Reinforcement* I mean it a Relief — you will if nothing happens below to forbid it make the Excursion you Mention but you will I hope be as Expeditious as poſsible in your return, as for particular Reasons I would not wish you to be long Absent — I have had from tolerable good Agints, information that the

Enimy Meditate an Enterprize Either against you or Sheldon or both, I rather think against him; I would have you take Measures to be secure yourself, and to secure him from Surprise, for if they do Act it will be Rapidly and in pretty good Force, so that you should be prepared to Retreat, or Act as prudence and the good of the Service Points out—

I should be glad to see you when it is Convenient —

I am Dear Sir
with Regard and Respect
Your most Obd Sert
R HOWE

P S A Company of fifty men under Captain Stevens of the new Levies are to join Captain Sacket on the Lines & be under your command you will when they join him order your Commiſsary to Iſsue to them Provisions in the mean time they will Draw from Sheldons Commiſsary when you serve them order the other to cease

LETTER TO GENL HOWE

DAVENPORTS HOUSE July ye 25th 1780

Dear General

from a perſon below who may be depended on my Intiligence is that three or foure Britiſh & Heſſian Regiments Embarked at Philips laſt Friday fell Immediately down to the Hook and its Said went out to Sea with Admirael graves who its Commonly reported is gon to Rhode Island with the Six Ships of the line he brough with him and two others which was in — that a Number of Troops have Emparked at Frogs Neck and Croſsed to long Island tis Said for the purpes of Bringing the Stock from the eaſt End

of the Island (but there number or Corps is not known) Some alſo remained there when the others Croſsed which from Some other accont muſt be on Saturday)

That the yanjer Core is Incamped between m^r Cortlandts and kings Bridge. the Reſt of the Britiſh that moved down from Voluntins Hill & are Incamped haveing there left nere Fort Independence and the Right towards the Britiſh Redoubt Number 8 — this was there poſition yeſterday at 12 oClock M. —

GEN^L McDOUGALL'S MINUTES TO COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Notes Delivered by Major Genl McDougall to the Committee of Congreſs appointed to confere with him in auguſt 1780 Containing the Substance of two Memorials of the General officers in behalf of them Selves and the officers of the Army[1]

First — The General officers complain that their pay was not advanced when that of the other officers of the army was increased 50 p Cent from the first of January 1777 — that it was not at any Time equel to their Rank considering the expencies they are Exposed to, and more Eſpecially for Some time past as all Foreign articels they want for them ſelves and families have ben double and now are Treble the price they ware at the commencement of the War, and the Produce of the Country double the old price. So that their pay if it had ben paid to them in Gold and Silver would not be equel to half pay in 1776, even if it is advanced from the 1 of January 1777 50 p Cent; and that their pay advanced 50 p Cent would not be equil to half the pay and Emoluments of a Collonel in the Enimes Service

[1] The original is in Rufus Putnam's script.

A Major Generals Pay now 166 Dollars advanced 50 p cent it will be 249– The first will not Purchaſe them more then the vallu of 55⅓ dollars the Second but 83 dollars, Suppoſeing it paid in Gold and Silver, as the Cittizens draw it from them for leſs then half its vallu for their produce & Marchandize. Hence it is clear on the most Moderate Calculation that the Cittizens of America pay the army but half pay for their Services. the General officers therfore think that the preſent pay if advanced 50 p Cent from the time aforeſaid will not with the Rations alowed enable them to keep a Sutable table for their Rank & the Honnor of their Country Eſpecially when Serveing with Forreign Troops —

2^{d}ly The half pay is Clogged with Such Conditions that the General officers cannot recive it becauſe that they are Disfranchised by the Reſolution which grants it, as it ceaſes if they hold any office of Profit from the United States or either of them. However Small or incompetant the Salery of Such office may be for their Support. Beſides they Say this half Pay is given for past or future Servis. if for Past why Should it debar them from the profit of any office they may be called too by their fellow Cittizens when it is expected they will do the duty of Such office. if the half pay is intended for future Services or to hold them engaged in their profeſion to the Community it is incompetent for their Support when Clogged with that Condition. theſe objections are raised by all the Commiſsioned officers of the line. beſides thoſe objections the General officers add that they cannot recive it without Dishonnoring themſelves as none of them are to have but the Half pay of Colonels — they are not Colonels in any reſpect nor do they recive the emoluments of Regiments which General officers

do in foreign Services. thus degraded when they return to Civel life they are Subject to Expences from the Connections & Acquaintence which Unavoidably ware created by the Service & without Means propotionate to other officers to defray it The officers of the Eaſtern States do not Contend for half pay if they git Some equivelent in groſs at the Close of the war as a reward for past Services to put them in buſineſs as well as Compensation for loſs of time — this they think is Just as their pay now, for the reaſons above aſigned is not equel to half Pay althoe they have recived Compenſation for Depretiation

3$^{d ly}$ The officers of thoſe States whoſe Legliſhlatures have made a future proviſion for them of half pay claim the Depretiation of their pay for the reaſon above mentioned Viz that if paid in Gold or Silver is but half pay. and on pay in General make this Reflection, that if the War laſt Seven years and they Should recive Seven years half pay it will be but Seven years whole pay — as the Cittizens will have recived the pay of the army for the War for half the Quantety of Produce and Marchendize their pay would have purchesed when the army was Raiſed in 1776 & 1777

4$^{th ly}$ All the officers of the lines of the different States think it reaſonable that a decent proviſion Should be made for the wives & children till of age of Such of them as May die or be Slain in the Service, and not be exposed to indigence or want or caſt on the Pariſh for a mean Subsistence, and they See with inexpreſable concearn the Families of officers of all Ranks who have died or have ben Slain now Exposed to thoſe distreſses Still Unnoticed and Unprovided for —

The Survivers antiſipate the Calamaties that await their owne in caſe they meet the like Misfortune —

5th by A Ration is incompetent for the decent Subſiſtence of an officer eſpecially a Field officer who in attention to the Service is often obliged to entertain officers of his own Rank and thoſe who are Inferiour, and the Subsistence money allowed for the retained Rations will not purches a third of a Ration in the Vicinety of Camp Therefore no reaſonable allowance for the Retained Rations will enable the officers to live in proper Carracter among each other or the Strangers [?] who Come into Camp and theſe Defiquelties will greatly increaſe when the Army drawes Near Newyork where the Country is laid waist or where the People refuse paper money, as is the Caſe in the lower parts of Weſt Cheſter County and the like will take place on Long Island. to remedy thoſe Evils the officers Connected with Corps Should be alowed to draw the whole of their Rations, but if the Stock of Proviſions wont admit of it at least the following Number of their Rations, and all the officers paid the full Vallu of the Retained ones Viz Colo three Lt Colo three Major two — this may inable them to Rub throug the Campaign in Some Decency as to proviſion, otherwiſe they muſt each eat his Morſel in an Unſocial Maner & which will render them Contemptable to them Selves and to Strangers for paper Money will not purches Neceffaries in the Places I have mentioned

Lastly the officer are of opinion that they have a Just Claim on their Country for a decent Subſiſtence for them Selves and their families according to their reſpective Ranks while they are fighting her Battels and when the hapy Hour of peace arrives that they are Intiteled to Some reward for their Toils and lost time and not to be marked out to their Country men or her Enemies as Conſpicious Beg-

gers — Further that as the Conteſt is for property as well as for Liberty & Empire they have a Just Clame on the Community for a part of that which they Protect for it, and that there are Lands of the Crown and Trators which will far Surpaſs any Compenſation which the Army wiſh or aſk for with out breaking in upon privet property

APOINTMENT OF BRIGADE

WEST POINT January 8th 1781

Sir

Whereas, at a meeting of the Officers of the first Maſsachuſetts Brigade, on the 15th of Dec: 1780, You was chose to Represent the Brigade in a general committee of the Maſsachusetts line, for the pupose of ſettling with the *ſtate*, the amount of the arears due the Officers and soldiers of that line on account of the Depreciation of the currency, for the year 1780. Also to revise and conclude any other matters respecting the ballance due the Officers and ſoldiers on account of the Depreciation previous to the first of January 1780, which yet remains unſettled. This is therefore to deſire you to proceed to Boſton as ſoon as poſsible, where you will be joined by a committee from the other Brigades, as aforesaid.

In your proceedings in the said buiſineſs, you will be governed by ſuch Inſtructions as ſhall be given you by the whole line so far as they extend, and in all other matters according to the best of your understanding.

In the Name, and by order of the Meeting

J. GREATON Col^{l} } President

Col: RUFUS PUTNAM.

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

SINGSING Augst 22nd 1781

Dear Sir

I am this moment informed that Eight or nine Barrels of Flour, private property belonging to a Baker of the 2nd Connecticut Brigade was left at our late Encampment, at a place in the rear of the 2nd Brigade If you think it practicable to get it off I refer it to your consideration, the Flour will be usefull for your detachment and prevent its falling into the hands of the Enemy. The best mode of geting the Flour off I leave to your own good Judgment.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH

Col^{o} PUTNAM

N B — There were Sixteen Barrels of Flour left as within mentioned & they were in the wood (careleſsly covered over) in the front of the ſaid Brigade & not in the Rear —

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters PEEKS KILL augst 24th 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor p^{r} M^{r} Myrick, and the one by the soldier who escorted the Deſerter from Uphams Corps, came duly to hand. The D Q M G will furniſh M^{r} Myrick, with such articles requested by you, as he has at Command. I am sorry they are far short of your wants and wishes, hope it will soon be in his power to afford you an ample supply. — I think the mode of acting with your Corps, which you propose a good one. Your knowledge of service, of the

Country in which you are to act, and known Prudence induce me to repose a Discretionary Liberty of acting to you. — I wish your movements may be such as to leave no avenue open on your Flanks, whereby the Enemy may paſs you unperceived and strike the advance Pickets of this army. please endeavour to obtain all the Intelligence in your power, and the news papers when it can be effected.

I am with very great regard
Dear Sir
Your obed^{t} serv^{t}
W HEATH
M Gen^{l}

Colonel PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head quarters, PEEKS KILL, August 27. 1781.

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 25. with the cow-thieves, arrived safe — I hope you will be able to hunt out that nefarious enemy — It is probable they will be active in their ſkulking, thieving way, and from the ſituation of the country it will be impoſsible to reſtrain them.

I will give orders that a quantity of hard bread and ſalted meat be procured for the detachments — which is eſsentially neceſsary.

With reſpect to the cattle, grain and forage below — whatever is taken, ſhould be done by the ſtate agent, or ſome of his Aſsiſtants, one of whom has generally attended the troops on the lines — He will follow the inſtructions given him by his Principal as to the mode of certificates or payment. The aſsiſtants have generally taken from the inhabitants such part of their grain, &c. as they have judged might

be ſpared, leaving a ſufficiency for the support of their families — They will I ſuppoſe continue in this way. You will not take yourself, but where neceſsity compels, which will be the caſe in your different excurſions — And in this caſe, an officer of humanity will diſtreſs individuals, although enemies, as little as poſsible. The deſign of your command is to gain intelligence of the movements of the enemy, and to check their excurſions where it is practicable, — to communicate such intelligence as you may obtain — and, as far as poſsible, afford protection to the country. You are not sent out to collect grain, or threſh it, or as foragers — although you are to cover both as far as is in your power, ſhould parties be ſent out for that purpoſe — And in caſes where you can aſsiſt in getting off grain or forage, the service will be promoted by your lending a hand for that purpoſe; but you are by no means to entangle or encumber yourself — you are at all times to be light, and move with as much celerity as poſsible.

I wish it was in my power to order you some rum. We have not had a drop ſince our arrival here, nor is there any in ſtore. A quantity is expected — when it arrives, you ſhall not be forgotten. We ſhall have ample supplies of flour — Your Commiſsary must settle some effectual way for enſuring you a conſtant supply.

I think colonels Worm and Delancy will endeavor to give you a blow — I will venture you with both of them, both in point of policy or bravery. If your numbers are not sufficient you ſhall have a reinforcement.

Spare no pains to get intelligence and the news papers — We have no news here except reports that

a large fleet was ſeen on their way from the Weſt indies to the continent.

I am with great regard,
Dear Sir,
Your obed. ſervant
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM

GENERAL HEATHS LETTER

Head quarters, PEEKS KILL, Aug. 30, 1781.

My dear Sir,

Your favor of the 27. came to hand. I ſee you, Colonels Wormb and Delancy are manœuvring for the wind, and I expect ſoon to hear you have had an engagement. I hope you will ſink, blow up, or take the whole of them. However, act with caution and policy. I know they dare not fight you unleſs they can gain ſome advantage of numbers or ſituation — and ſuch, I am ſure you will not give them.

I have iſsued orders that your detachment be kept at all times complete by ſupplying the places of such as fall ſick, &c.

This evening about forty teams will move down to the new bridge, covered by about two hundred and fifty rank and file, properly officered, and early to morrow morning move down and forage near Stiversons weſt of Young's. I wiſh you to make such movements with your detachment as will ſeaſonably and moſt effectually cover the foragers, & ſecure all the avenues in front.

Colonel Greaton will command the foragers. I wiſh you to ſend him any advice you may think neceſsary.

I repeat my requeſt that you will use every en-

deavor to obtain intelligence, the news-papers, &c. and communicate them to me.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir,
Your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M Gen^{l}

P. S. Two men of your detachment by the names of Hymen Cool and Ephraim Thomas, of the 4 regiment are wanted as witneſses on a trial now before a court martial — Please send them up — they ſhall be ordered down again —
W H

GENERAL HEATHS LETTER

Head quarters, PEEKS KILL, Aug. 30: 1781.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 28. by major Treſcot was put into my hand this morning —

The major is gone to the commiſsary to obtain some hard bread if poſsible — We have now a plenty of flour, and your commiſsary may obtain whatever may be neceſsary — If the hard bread cannot be obtained now, it may be in a ſhort time.

I am fully in ſentiment with you reſpecting the flags which come up from the enemy — and I wiſh you to communicate to the enemy's out poſts, that their flags are to come up on the Tarry town road only, and on that road to the new bridge, or the advance guard near the new bridge.

I think one light field piece ſufficient for your detachment. Captain Kemper cannot be indulged with another. I am ſorry his command, in his opinion, is not equal to his rank — but it is a misfortune to

which, in the present ſtate of our army, officers of all ranks are obliged to ſubmit.

I am with very great regard
Dear Sir,
Your obedient ſervant
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters PEEKS KILL Sep^{r} 2^{d} 1781

Dear Sir

I have just obtained intelligence that a packett of dispatches is on its way from Canada to New York. The Bearer is a young man, shabbily cloathed, blue eyes, ſandy complexion, with short red hair. — It is probable the dispatches may be ſhifted into other hands. — I wish you to be very carefull, and enjoyn on all your parties, to be critical in obſerveing and examining all persons, who may be paſsing & detain and convoy to you for further examination all such persons as exhibit marks of being ſuspicious Characters. —

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters PEEKS KILL Sep^{t} 7 1781

Dear Sir

The Army will make a forrage tomorrow morning in the neighbourhood of North Castle — Please to

make a disposition of your Detachment in such manner as to cover the Forragers — the command will be with you —

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M General

The French fleet have
arrived in the Cheasapeak
and blocked up the Enemy —
W H

Colonel PUTNAM

GENERAL HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters PEEKS KILL Sep^{t} 8th 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 7th Inst come to hand with the priſoners Cow Boys &^{c} I have had a converſation with Major Tallmadge respecting them. Your Detachment shall soon receive a reinforcment.

Both Cap^{t} Richards and M^{r} Myrick must have Joined you before this time.

I am with very great regard
Dear Sir
your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters PEEKSKILL Sep^{t} 10th, 1781

Dear Sir

Should the Enemy at any time, advance in Force that affords grounds to apprehend a deſign against

the Posts in the Highlands, either by Land, or water, you will move up with your detachment in such manner, as to prevent the Enemy from cuting off the Communication between you the army and Posts in the Highlands. In such case you will bring off any Guards or Pickets you find in your way, and send detachments to drive back all Public Cattle and Horſes in the vicinity of Crompond &c towards Fredricksburgh, and direct the Inhabitants should such an event happen, to do the same. This you will keep to yourself, it is a precaution, that should be thought of, if never put in execution.

Your Opinion of Mr Clinton is verified, it is said he is raveing, and that all is hurry and confusion in New York, — all appearances indicate a capital movement, — keep a sharp look out, we shall be ready for them at all points.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
your Obedient Servant
W HEATH
M General

Colo PUTNAM.

GENL HEATHS LETTER

Head quarters, PEEKS KILL, Sept. 10. 1781.

Dear Sir.

Your favor of yeſterday came ſafe to hand. Another forage will be made tomorrow morning — Pleaſe order your detachment accordingly

Your opinion of Mr Clinton I think is juſt, but after all his raving and flouriſhing I truſt the trap is ſtrong enough to hold him — We have only to guard againſt his ſcratching in his expiring agonies.

I have not obtained a ſingle word officially of the enemy's conduct at New London, or even of their landing there, from any perſon in authority in the ſtate — And I think there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that 30 ſail of veſsels you mention to have paſsed towards New York the evening of the 7th were the freebooters. It ſeems impoſsible that the gentleman who left Fairfield the morning of the 8th ſhould know that the enemy were ſtill at New London the evening of the 7th The diſtance between Fairfield and New London forbids it — I wiſh therefore, unleſs you have obtained ſome other certain intelligence of the enemy's being at New London or at ſome other place in the Sound on the Connecticut ſhore, that you will immediately on receipt hereof ſend an expreſs to the detachment to return and join you — It may be well for them to do it by the time of the forage — Nothing new ſince yeſterday.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your obed Servt
W HEATH
M General

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received information that Genl Clinton is collecting all the force in his power, and that the troops are embarking — The conjectures concerning their deſigns are various. The intended forage will probably be delayed tomorrow — But you will pleaſe immediately to take the meaſures mentioned reſpecting the detachment ſent from you.

W H

Colonel PUTNAM

GENERL HEATHS LETTER

Head quarters, PEEKS KILL, Sept. 11. 1781.

Dear Sir.

Your favor of yeſterday came to hand the laſt evening. Mr Stevens the Deputy Commiſsary of Iſsues was abſent the laſt evening, will return to day, when meaſures will be taken to ſecure your Commiſsary.

Mr Bonton's [?] conduct in refuſing to take charge of the ſtores (at leaſt until the principal of his department could appoint ſome perſon of his department to take them) is highly reprehenſible. Such conduct at particular times may occaſion great loſs to the public, as well as injury to the ſervice. I gave Mr Bonton my opinion very cloſely laſt night on the ſubject.

The army will this day remove to Bald hill for the advantage of a more compact encampment, and having it in our power effectually to cover Weſt point, and make detachments to ſuch other places as may require them.

I wiſh you immediately to eſtabliſh ſome certain mode of conſtant intelligence from the Sound, and of what paſses there. — This may be done by forming a chain with general Waterbury. My views in this, are to obtain the earlieſt notice of any movements of the enemy's ſhipping to deſtroy the ſea-ports — and in caſe of ſuch movements at any time, I wiſh you to detach a part of your force towards ſuch places as are threatened, without waiting orders from me for the purpoſe. But in ſuch caſe, ſend me inſtant notice of your having made detachment, that meaſures may be taken to ſupport you. A detachment of about one hundred men will be ſent to join you today, leſt Major Tallmadge ſhould not have returned.

If poſsible, let me know whether the enemy's ſhipping are yet in the Sound, or returned.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters PEEKS KILL Sept^{r} 11th 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 10^{h} per Cap^{t} Post, is just come to hand. I am much obliged by the intelligence you have communicated, it is not improbable that Worm & Delancey, perhaps aided by some other Troops mean to make a movement towards you, or for a grand forrage, & driveing of Cattle from the Town on the Sound — It is said that there about 300 light horse with the Enemy at New London. I do not see how this can be poſsible, unleſs the 17^{h} Dragoons who were some time since on Long Island, were sent on the expedition; of this Colonel Sheldon can probably form a good judgement — If the 17th were sent they may on their return, be landed at West Chester, & join Worm & Delancey; or they may be brought from Long Island — Their force united will render them, I apprehend, superior to Col^{o} Sheldon, which will point it a peace of policy in him to act with suitable precaution in case the enemy move out. It may be their plan to amuse and draw you down, & if poſseſsed of a superiority in horse, endeavour to turn your Flank and cut off your retreat. — I think therefore if you act below Croton under such a view you will act with the greatest liberty

towards the left, avoid haveing your left turned, while you are circumscribed on the right by the Hudson, where they may also by the use of boats throw Troops in your rear: But from the knowledge which you, Colonel Sheldon, & Major Talmadge have of the Country & probable movements of the Enemy you are the best judges. —

You will revolve these hints in your mind & act your discretion — If reinforcements are neceſsary let me know it, and if poſsible in season, for I am determined to counteract the Enemy if poſsible — Intelligence is what I principally wish for; collect what you can from every Quarter, & compare one with another.

I am with very great regard
Dear Sir
Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t}

Colonel PUTNAM

W HEATH
M General

P. S.

I have this moment received a letter from Major Talmadge by Expreſs: — he was returning in complyance with your orders; had just received intelligence of the Enemy continuing their depredations. I have directed him to face about, & march towards Newhaven — have ordered Gen^{l} Huntington to march with his Brigade towards the Sound — I think M^{r} Clinton will be in great fury for a few days — Choose your ground accordingly, either above or below the Croton, as you may judge best especially in the night time — But whatever steps you take advise me of them. —

W H

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters CONT VILLAGE Sep^{r} 12th 1781

Dear Sir

This will be handed to You by Colonel Weiſenfels an experienced good Officer who joins You with three Companies of Levies (principally Officered with old Continental Officers — Capt. Hunt will join Colonel Weisenfels — Major Knapp will return with his Detachment — A Commiſsary will be sent You immediately —

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your Obed. Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM —

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters CONTINENTAL VILLAGE Sep^{t} 15th 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of yesterday is Just come to hand. If Major Knapp has not returned when this reaches you, you may detain him untill further orders

Please give my compliments to Colo. Sheldon and request him to come to this place in the course of a Day or two, on a matter of Importance Just communicated to me. — I have not time to write him or you so fully as I wish.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M Gen^{l}

Col^{o} PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters CONTINENTAL VILLAGE Sep^{t} 17th 1781

Dear Sir

your favor of this date p^{r} Col^{o} Sheldon came safe to hand. I have directed Major Tallmadge to Join you, after which I deſire you to Send up the officers and men of your detachment belonging to the 2nd 5th and 8th Regiments, which Compose the 2nd Maſsachuſetts Brigade, that Brigade being ordered to Garriſon West point. they are Sent in thus early that they may prepare to paſs the winter Comfortably.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M General

Col^{o} PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head quarters, CONTINENTAL VILLAGE, Sept. 17. 1781.

Dear Sir

In conſequence of intelligence juſt received from the northward, I have thought it adviſeable to ſend colonel Weiſsenfels regiment to Albany. You will pleaſe to put them in motion as ſoon as poſsible, including captain Hunt's company. They are to march to Pemart's landing, where veſsels will be ready to receive them.

I am with great regard,
Dear Sir,
your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM.

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters CONTINENTAL VILLAGE Sep^{t} 22nd 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of yesterday came to hand last evening, I thank you for the intelligence communicated therein.

The preſent is a most interesting moment, please exerciſe every endeavour to get intelligence, whether the Enemy's Fleet with the embarked Troops have Sailed from the Hook, what Garriſons they have left in the differant works, on Long Island and in the City, what Corps and how Strong, and the moment you obtain intelligence Let me have it, and give your opinion if any post affords an oppertunity of Striking them a blow with a prospect of Succeſs.

I am with very great regard
Dear Sir
Your Obed^{t} Servant
W HEATH
M General

P. S if poſsible obtain the news papers —

Colonel PUTNAM

GEN^{L} HEATHS LETTER

Head Quarters CONTINENTAL VILLAGE Sep^{t}. 22nd 1781

Dear Sir

A Grand Forage will be made on Monday morning next four or Five miles below the New bridge on Croten. one hundred and fifty rank and File properly officered under the Command of a Field officer will be detached from the army as an escorte. you will please to move your Detachment so as to cover

the Foragers. the whole will be under your Command.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
your obedient Servant
W HEATH
M General

Colonel PUTNAM

THOUGHTS ON A PEACE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Requsted by Gen[l] Washington

1783

America is by no means to place her principle ſecurity in Walled Towns and the multitude of her Fortreſses: nor is ſhe in time of peace to be at the expence of an Reguler Army ſufficient for the defence of every Part of her Extensive Teritorys ſhould they be invaided — yet unleſs her Harbours, at least the principle ones, are ſecured by Fortreſses and Small Gariſons, her ſea-ports are liable to be ſurprised plundered and Burnt or laid under Contribution by a few Ships of War, and if aided by land forces an enemy might in Some of them So eſtabliſh him Self in a very ſhort time as to render it Very Difiquelt to Dislodge him — her Frontears ſhould alſo be So Secured by Forts and gariſons as at least might retard the opperation of an Enemy till the Forces of the Country could be collected to oppose him —

Among the Seports; New york Claims the first

attention No Spot on the Continent in the poſſeſſion of an enimy can So much Injure the United States as that, yet in my opinion, with a very little expence Compared to the Importance of the object it may be rendered parfectly Secure against any Surprize or Inſult from the most formidable Fleat that ever yet was in its Harbour

Falmouth in the provence of Main is the next Harbour eastward that ought to Claim the attention of Congreſs it is in the very Neighbourhood of Hallifax have Severel Tribes of Indians on the North & the Country but thinly Setteled the Harbour is deep and ſpacious, the Town on a peninſula and Should an Enemy Eſtabliſh him ſelf their, the whole Eaſtern Country would be greatly Indangered

Penopscot or Major Bagaduce is Still further East has alſo a ſpacious harbour and is the Source I am told from whence the Eaſtern States are to Expect the most of their Masts Spars and Lumber —

From New york Southerd Charles Town and Georgia are the first that I ſuppose are intiteled to the notice of Congreſs in reſpect of Gariſons and Troops they have the Spaniards on the Right and Savages in their Rear, are properly the Frontear of the Empire on that Quarter and I am Told are thinly peopeled. the other Harbours and Seports are too Numerous for them all to admit of Continantal Eſtabliſhments the Expence to the ſeveral States in ſecureing or Fortifing them may be Nearly Equl in propotion to their welth, and their owne Immediate Intrist will Induce them to attend to the matter Beſides carying the general Suystim too far may create a Jalousy in Some of them but the Southern and Eaſtern Fronter togather with N york and the post on the Hudſon Should always remain in the hands of Congreſs but

if any of them Should be So foolish as to neglect So Importent a object and leve them Selves liable to the Inſults of every Pirate or Surprize of an open Enimy the Damage to the United States, in general, would be much Leſs then for Charles Town and Georgia on the one hand or thee provence of Main on the other to be Seeazed on by Surprize because theſe places might not be recovered through a long War, whereas none of the others could reaſonably expect to be ſo unfortunate

But in Point of Importence, Next to the Citty and Harbour of New york — the North River or the Communication between New york and Canady ought to Clame the first attention. for whoever attempts the Conquest of America, will in my opinion, if he acts right, endever to eſtabliſh him ſelf on the Hudſon and by a Chain of Posts in that Quarter to Seperate the Eaſtern from the Midle and Southern States. on this River then Congreſs Should always keep an eye and Never Suffer an Enimy Foreign or Domistic to fix him ſelf Quietly on any part of it, or the Lakes towards Canada

Weſt Point is prehaps as well Sittuated for the Grand Arſanal of America as any Place whatever and by Dismanteling most of the out Works — a much Smaller Gariſon will be required then in its preſent State — they ſhould conſist cheifly of Artillery men — Includeing alſo Some artificers — Here Should all the Cariges and apperatus for the artillery be made here ſhould the art of Gunnery Fortification &c &c be Taught and from hence Should the artillery Companys (detached) to other Posts be regurly releaved at lest one in Two years. I conſider Stoney Point as an appandage to west Point whither the former remain in its preſent State or a reguler fortification be

built there, which is a Subject worth Conſideration — Beſides West Point there will Undoubtedly be other Arſinals Eſtabliſhed both East and weſt that will require Small guards —

In order to prevent a Supprize from Canada by way of Lake Champlain if the Sittuation will admit a Fort Should be built at Wind Mill Point Pont au Fear [Point au Feu] or Some place near the 45th Degree of lattitude and the River or Lake So obſtructed as to prevent the paſage of any British Veſsell into it —

This matter I concive to be worth attention, and examination, for if practicable in caſe of a War with Great Britton it will prevent their makeing them Selves Masters of the lakes and at the Same time it will give Protection to the Country called Vermont with the Inhabitents near the Lake and aid us in Introduceing an army into Canada.

In the mean time it will be a means of Checking any Illisit Trade in that Quarter, Interrupt the wicked Corrispondence and be a good means to prevent the revolt of the Vermontears ſhould they have it in Contemplation, and it will alſo further any Corrispondence we may wiſh to hold with the Inhabitants of Cannada —

But if no place can be found further Nothward then Crown Point Sutable for a Fortification that Should be fixed on the lake there is eſily obſtructed and the Sittuation Elligable a good Fortreſs with a Small Gariſon Some where in that Quarter is neceſsary and will be able to prevent any Sudden Erruption from Canada into the Provence of New york a Circumſtance by all means to be guarded against — the Idea of a post Some where on Lake Champlain will make it Neceſsery to have two Intermediate ones

between that and Albany for the lodgment and Security of the Stoars that may be Sent northward Viz one at Fort George and another at the Landing on the further end of lake George but a Block House or even a Stockade with a very few Troops will be ſufficient

Albany will no Doubt requier Som Troops as it will be the place for lodging at least for a time the Stoars deſigned for the Northern and Western Fronters

To keep the Western ſavages in awe, to protect and regulate our Trade with them and prevent any Inſidous Practice of our Britiſh or Spaniſh Neighbors as far as posable, Some Fortreſses and a Small reguler Eſtabliſhment is abſolutely neceſsary Perticulerly at Fort Stanwix Oſwego Niagary Fort and Carying Place — Detroit and Michilinmackanac on the Lakes — Illinois Fort Maſsac Post Vincent Fort Pitt and other Posts that it may be found neceſsery to gariſon on the Frontears of the Midle and Southern States

The Britiſh uſed to Send their Supplys to Nagara and Detroit from Cannada & of conſequence ware under no neceſsity of keeping a Post at oſwego and I beleve they had none at Fort Stanwix, but in our ſittuation if we wiſh to keep up a Communication with Niagara and Detroit by way of Lake ontario a Post at Oſwego is Indeſpensible for the lodgment of the Stoars Sent from Albany for the Supply of the Weſtern World as well the Security of the Peltry [?] that may be brought from that Quarter in return. Fort Stanwix will alſo be a place of Some Conſequence for the like purpoſes and for the protecton of the Convoyes and Trade from Savage Insult Several other Small post on the Communication between Albany and Oſwego will undoubtedly be neceſsary,

to Secure our Selves against any Surprize from the British to awe the Savages in thoſe Quarters to protect the French Setlers about Detroit and Incourage their Emigration from Cannada our Force in the Neighbourhood of the Grate lakes even In time of peace, Should be much grater then what the Britiſh uſed to keep

In time of War a navel Superiorety on the Lakes may be more likely to fall to the Share of the British then to us; or at least our Superiorety may be unſertain I wiſh to Suggest the propriety of opening Some other Communication with Lake Erie (then that through Lake ontario) by which Niagara Detroit &c &c may Recive Supplys. and Beſids the Idea of the Britiſh haveing a Navel Superiorety in Lake ontario Should Niagara by any Miſfortune be Surprized and taken with it we must looſe the whole Western World unleſs Some other communication is opened with it then the preſent

This Communication may be made from Fort Pitt to Preſque Iſle, but I think the most Elligable is from Fort Pitt either by Kishkuske and Cayahoga to Lake Erie or down the River from Fort Pitt to Yallow Creek from thence by Tuscarawas to Cayahoga. but I would ſuggest for conſideration a much more Extencive proposition. Viz a Post at the Mouth of Cayahoga another at the 1 mile Portage between the head of Cayahoga River and of Muskingum at Tuscarawas one at the Forks of Muskingum or the Dellaware Town below a 4th at Wills Town a 5th Mouth of Muskingum a 6th Hockhocking a 7th Great Kanhawa an 8th Some Such chain of Posts in that Quarter I concive would give Such Incouragement not only to those who have lands on this Side the Ohio but alſo to Such as may obtain grants

on the other Side as would Induce ſuch Emigration to that Quarter that within a few years the Country west of the Alleghany Mountains would not only be able to Feed all our Garisons in the Weſtern World but render that whole Frontear perfectly Secure against every forreign Enemy and the Savages about the Warters of the Mohawk Susquehanne Oſwego and Ohio would be Induced to behave very ſubmiſsively or move father afield —

The expence to Build the Chain of Posts will be very Small . . . a good Stockade with Flankkers inſtead of Baſteons Built in form of Block Houses will be abundently ſufficient in all Inſtences except that at the Mouth of the Cayahoka which will requier more attention —

Nor will it increſe the Number of Troops neceſsery for the general Protection becauſe the Gariſons of Fort Pitt Detroit Illinois &c &c may be as much leſs, then otherwiſe may be neceſsery, as this proposed chain of posts would requier to Gariſon them properly

one Regiment of Infentry on the preſent Eſtabliſhment would be Quite ſufficient to Gariſon the whole and in a few years a Much leſs number as the Setlers would undoubtedly in the first Inſtence plant them ſelves near the Several gariſons for the Sake of their protection and would aid in their defenc

Haveing made theſe obſervations let me next propose for conſideration the Following Eſtablishment Viz Six Regiments of Infentry on the Eſtabliſhment of october 1780 one Regt of 12 Companys of Artillery and one Company of Artificers this eſtabliſhment is deduced from the following Detail of Post and gariſon

	Company Infantry	Company Artillry	Comp Artic
West Point and down to New York &[2]	4 (5)	6	1
to Shut an enimy out of lake Champlain or Stop him for a time	4	1	"
at Albany and the Commun[icatio]n Northward — —	1 (2)	"	"
in Provence of Main and Maggizene in Eaftward	9 (4)	1	"
North & South Carolin Georgie and Magazeans in that Quarter	9 (4)	1	"
Niagara 4 Ofwego 3(4) Fort Stanwix and Communtin with Albany 2 Infentry	9 (10)	1	
Detroit and its Dependency	5 (4)	½	"
Michiclamackanac and Dependencis	4	½	
Fort Pitt[2] Maſsac[2] Illinois[4] Post Post H — [?] 8 Vincent and Magazens in Virginia	9	1	
[1] Total	54	12	1

But if the Chain of Posts in proposed [plan] from Cayahka to Kanhawa be eſtabliſhed then the following arrangment in that Quarter may be adopted Viz

[1] The discrepancies in this and the following table are due to the fact that General Putnam altered his first draft, placing one figure above another; his later figures are in parentheses. The underlined words were erased and *Post H* — was placed above them.

Detroit —	3 (2)	½
Michiclamackanac —	3 (2)	½
Mouth of Cayahoca	2	½
Head of Cayahoca River or Portage	1	
Tuscarawas — —	1	
Forks of Muskengum — —	1	
Wills Town — — —	1	
Mouth of Muskengum —	1	
Mouth of Hockhocking —	1	
Grate Kanhawa — —	1	
Post Vincent — —	1	
Illinois —	1 (2)	½
Fort Maſsac —	1	
Fort Pitt and Magazene in Virgin	1	½

which make the Same Total as on the other plan the number in each Regt of Infentry and the artillery Company to be the Same as the Eſtabliſhment of October 1780, Except that the Regimet Staff should always be included in the number of Platton or Company officer Such an Eſtabliſh may be ſufficient to give the alaram and prevent the Progreſs of an Enimy for a Time eſpecially on the ſirst breaking out of a War, which is all that can be expected from them, and all that Congreſs ought to attempt by a proper Reguler Eſtabliſhment

The Pay and Subsistence of the officer to be the Same as at preſent First because I concive it is Be-

low that of the British or that of any other Nation when all their Emolumets are taken into Conſideration 2d ly Because whoever engages as an officer in a peace Eſtabliſhment is Supposed to make Arms his profeſsion for life and the preſent Eſtabliſhment of pay and ſubsistence is quite little enough to give Bread to a Man agreeably to the rank in Life which an officer is Supposed to hold

The pay of the Noncomſd officers and privets Should not exceed 5 Dollars per month or one Sixth of a Dollar per day out of which one third ſhould be ſtoped to provide him with a Coate wescot Breeches Shirts and other Neceſseres, and all arearages to be annually Setteled and paid the pay of officers and Solder if posable to be weakly

The officers to be taken in the first Inſtence in as near a propotion as Poſable from the Several States (not Rank but age Merit abilities and Conſtitution Should Determin the Choise) But it ware to be wiſhed that in future State lines may be totally laid aſide and in ordor to Introduce ſuch a Suystim the pirticuler officers to Compleat the Eſtabliſhed Regts being fixed on in the formation of thoſe Regiments, officers who now belong to different State lines Should be Incorporated into the Same Coars as much as posable this would not only be a means of removing those local prejudices among officers which are too apt to prevail but would make the distrebution of the three years Men now in Service among the Regimets thus formed much more elligable

Such an arrangement of officers Such an Incorporation of Men and Such a Detaching them to the diferent parts of the Empire will I think be Some means of Uniteing and Sementing the whole

To be ready to meet an Enimy on the first Breaking out of a War with an army of Reſpectable Troops their ſhould be an Eſtabliſhment of a reguler Continantal Militia — the Following Scheem is Suggested for Conſideration

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Scheem of Continantal Militia

All able Bodied Men between the age of 18 & 25 year (not Exempt by any law already made in the reſpective Stats) from Military Service Shall be enrolled and liable to Service as Continantal Militia. prehaps those of age between 20 & 25 may be thought more Sutable out of them Shall be raiſed 24 Regiments each Regement Sixteen Companys —— Subdivided into 4 Battallion of 4 Companys each — each Company to conſist of

- 1 Captain
- 1 Lieutent
- 1 Enſigne
- 5 Sergnt
- 3 Corporal
- 1 Drumer
- 1 Fifer
- 65 privet

Staff to each Battallion to be taken from among the Company officr ocationly for which their ſhall be no alowance but that of being accoutered [?]

- 1 Adjutnt
- 1 Qr Maſter
- 1 Sert Major
- 1 Qr M Sert

Regimental Field & Staff

1 Colonel
2 Lieutn Colo.
2 Majers
1 Adjutent
1 Qu Maſter
1 Pay Maſter
1 Surgeon
1 Mate
1 Serᵗ Majʳ
1 Qu M Seᵗ
1 Drum Majʳ
1 Fife Majʳ

24 Regiment on Such an Eſtabliſhment would Consist of

29448
1372
28066 [sic]

24 Colonels
48 Lᵗ Colonels
48 Majors
384 Captains
384 Lieutenant
384 Enſignes
24 Adjutent
24 Pay Masters
24 Q Masters
24 Surgeons
1372 [sic] 24 Mats
24 Sert Major
24 Q M Segᵗˢ
24 Drum Major
24 Fife Major
1080 Serjents [sic]
384 Drumers
384 Fiffers
26112 Rank & File

Total Includeing officers 29448

The officers Should all be Commiſsioned by Congreſs and be on the Same footing as to Rank as those

in actual Service but in caſe of reſignation or removel out of the dept they ſhall looſe their Rank or pretentions too it in Reason the Regimet Should be all numbered with out deſtintion of States next after thoſe on the Peace Eſtabliſhment and to take their Rank in the ſirst Inſtence by lot Drawn for them in Congreſs the Number of Men to be raised in each State Shall be aſeſsed by Congreſs once in every Seven year by the Same rate of propotion by which the Continantal Taxes are laid. the year last preceeding Such aſeſsment the Several Stats Shall each be divided into as many Districts as it is required to furnish regimets which regimental dept Shall be Subdivided into Battallions Districts. once in every Seven year Viz the next year after that wherein the State aſeſsmt for men is made by Congreſs each Battallion District ſhall again be ſubdivided into Company Diſtricts Commiſsioned officers for such Company Shall reſide with in their owne Diſtrict The Field and regimental Staff officers Shall be inhabitent of or reſidents within the Diſtrict of the Regiment or Battallion to which they are appointed all the Field Commiſsioned & Staff officers of a Regiment Shall be appointed by the Executive athorety of the State to which they belong and be Commiſsiond by Congreſs. on the removel of an officer out of his District his place must be Conſidered as Vacant and the vacancy to be filled by Succeſsion of Rank from the Colo to the Enſigne which Rule ſhall be adopted for filling all Vacancys but the appointment of all Enſigns Shall be in the Executive athorety of the State unleſs they ſhould neglect Such appointment for the Space of three months after being duly certified of the Vacancy by the Col° or Commanding officer of the Reg^{t} which he Should be obliged to do within

one month after Such Vacancy happened in which caſe Congreſs to have the right of Such appointment

the company Districts being thus fixed the Captain or Commanding officer of the Company Shall annually between the 15th and 31st day of December Make out a list with the ages of all the able Bodied men within his District liable to Bare arms in the Continantal Militia and haveing apponted his Sergents Corporals Drums & Fiſe he ſhall Select Seventy of the youngest that remains on the afore Said list (and return the Names of the Reſt to the Commanding officer of the State Militia within whose District they reſpective reſide) Sixty five of the Seventy taken as above are to compose the privet of Such Company for the Inſuig year and the other five are to be considered as ſupenumeraries and only liable to be called on Duty in caſe of Sickneſs Death or removel of any of the Fixed Company

All able Bodied men (except Such as are exempt from Military duty by the Laws of the State within which they reſide) between the age of Eighteen and twenty five years, must be liable to Service in the Continantal Militia and as Such perform all the Servis required of them

The Contnantal Militia being thus formed they Shall be liable (in Companys or Squads as Shall be thought mos convenient) to ſpend as many days in Military Exerciſes and Disepline as other Militia are liable to perform in Companys and in Battallion as Many as other State Militia are liable to by Regimint for which they shall have no allowance and for theſe exerſises and to be always ready in caſe of the most Sudden alaram they Shall be provided with Arms ammunition and acoutremet the Same as other Militia by Law ought to be provided with. in addition to

which they Shall always be provided with two white Hunting Shirts and two pairs of White lining ovehalls with a Military hat or Cap and Fether all of which shall be agreably to the ordor of the Commanding officer of the Regt

In addition to theſe Dutyes this Militia Shall in time of peace actually take the Field Some time the Month of September annually where they Shall Continue thirty days and attend to the learnig all or part of Disepline and the Dutis of an army as much as in time of War — they Shall be Collected for that purpus eithr by Regimet Brigads or Diviſion as may be thought most convenient for the good of Service but during this period they are to be paid at the Same Rate and Subsisted in the Same Maner as the Regimets on the Peace Eſtablishmet are — Beſides this on the Brakeing out of a War or when ever Congreſs Shall Deam it neceſsary they Shall take the Field upon which they Shall be furniſhed Paid and Subsisted in the Same Maner as ſhall be provided for the Eſtabliſhed Regimets. Beſides which the noncommiſsioned officers and privets Shall recive five Dollors Bounty anually So long as they Shall be held in Service. on the fore going Scheem after the first formation of the Compay the Captain or Commanding officer at the Close of every year will have ocation only to Obtain a list of all able bodied men belonging to His Company Distr who have within that year arrived at the age of 18 he will then Discharge So many of his Disbled and Senior Soldiers as to reduce his Company to the Standard and the Same Rule is to be obſerved in Recruting the Company in time of War as of peace with this exception that in time of War the Captain is not to Judge of the Debility of those who may claim a Discharge on that accont — But the Recruts for the

Company or thoſe lads who have arrived at Eighteen within the past year Shall between the first and Seventh Day of January be Inſpected and Muſtered in the Same maner as recrut for the Eſtabliſhed Regiments, and haveing Joyned the Company the Same Number Shall be discharged the oldest Soldiers always being Intiteled to Claim it as their right except where Invaleds of the Same Companys preſent them Selves of whoſe Claims Cognizence Shall be taken in the Same maner as is don in the Eſtabliſhed Regiment in like caſes

by this Scheem every able Bodied man is liable to Bair arms as a Contnantal Soldier at 18 years of age and its posable that he continue So for Seven year but as the Continal Militia and the eſtabliſhed Regiments will not altogath amount to more then $^1/_{16}$ of the ratable Poles and not more the $^1/_{10}$ of those liable to bare arms the Proverbility is that no man will Seve more then three year at farthest

I have made no Deſtintion between Rich or Poor in my Calculation in the Formation of the Companys one reaſon is because I think the Eſtabliſhing a Reguler Militia on Such a Footing is utterly Impratable consistent with the Idear of the Purpos of a Standing army in the defence of the Country

to give force and ſpirit to any Meaſure of this Sort it is neceſsry to make it as Simple as posable Besides when we want Men we must look where they are and when money is wanted let us look where it is to be found the Poor man can yeald perſonal Service, but if this is not Sufficent to anſwer the objection that may be raised on this Head — let each State make proviſion to equalize the money part upon the Pools and eſtates of each Company District. but no [one] is to be excuſed from yealding the Perſonal Service required of him unleſs he provides a Subſtitute

In ordor that they may be always ready to take the Field properly armed and acoutterd on the Shortst Notice and in ordor that they may be perfectly Uniform in their Arms and acoutrement a Sufficient number of Arms &c Shall (at the Expence of the United States) be delivrd to the Col° or Commanding officer of the Regt and deposited nere the plaòe of randezvos two good chest ſhall be provided for each Companys arms in which they are to be cearfully Secured on the Regiments takeing the field in the month of September the arms to be delivrd to them the Captain or Commanding officer being accountable for those of his Company as the Colo is for those of his Reg[t]

In ordor to give Life & Motion to this Complex Army of Continantal Regulars and Militia their must be one Commander in Cheif from whome all ordors for the Continantal Militia as well as the Reguler Regiments are Mediately or Immediately to Iſsue, the Same in peace as in time of War

Their Shall for the Militia Regiment be Six Major Gen[l] but no Brigadiers & the Col° when in the Field recive Brigadier Subsistence but Colonels pay only the Regt will in point of divs [division?] * * as Br [Brigades?]

The Inſpeter General of the Eſtabliſhed Army Should alſo be So to the Contint Militia and he will appoint as many Deputys as may be thought proper to Muster and Inſpect the Continantal Militia for the month they are out and Certifie the Rolls accordingly which Shall be paid out of the Treaſury of the United Stats

the Pay Maſter is to have a proper allowanc f[or] his Servis in obtaining and paying the money to the Men, and the Qr Maſter for his expence in takeing

care repairing Transeporting &c the arms accortment &c &c

every Soldier is to be charged with any abuses or damage do to his arms or accortments while in his Poſsestion or loſs of ammunition and S[t]opage made on the pay roll agreable to the Judgment of the Field officer with the Int [erested ?] Capt who are at the end of every month to make an Inſpection of the Same

COPPY OF PETITION FOR THE OHIO COUNTRY

To His Excellency the preſident and Honorable Delegates of the United States of America in Congreſs aſembled —

The petition of the ſubscribers officers in the Continantal Line of the Army humbly Sheweth ———

that by a reſolution of the Honnorable Congreſs paſsed the 20th day of September 1776, and other ſubsequent reſolves, the officers (and Soldiers, engaged for the War) of the american army, who ſhall continu in ſervice till the eſtablishment of *Peace*, or in caſe of their Dying in ſervice their Heirs, are entitled to recive certain grants of land according to their ſeveral graids, to be procured for them at the expence of the United States —

that your petitioners are informed, that tract of Country Bounded North on Lake Erie, East on Pynnſalvania South eaſt and South on the river Ohio, West on a line begining at that part of the Ohio which lies 24 mile west of mouth of the river Sioto, thence runing North on a Meridian line till it interſects the River Miami, which falls into Lake Erie, thence down the midle of that river to the Lake — Is a tract of country not claimed as the property of; or within the jurisdiction of any pirticuler ſtate in the Union —

that this country is of ſufficent extent the lands of ſuch a qualety and its Sittuation ſuch as may induce Congreſs to aſigne and mark it out as a tract or teritory ſutable to form a distinct goverment (or Colloney of the United States) — in time to be admited, *one* of the *Confedirated States of America* —

Wherefore your petitioners pray that whenever the Honnorable Congreſs ſhall be pleaſed to procure the afore ſaid lands of the Natives, they will make proviſion for the Location and Survey of the lands to which we are entitled, within the district aforeſaid and alſo for all officers & Soldiers who wiſh to take up their lands in that quarter —

that proviſion may alſo be made for a further grant of lands to Such of the army as wiſh to become adventurers in the new goverment, in Such quantetys and on ſuch conditions of ſettlement, & purcheſs, for public ſecurities, as Congreſs ſhall Judge most for the Intriſt of the intended Govermt and rendering it of lasting conſequence to the *American Empire*

and as in Duty Bound
will ever pray[1].

May 7th 1783 —

COPPY OF LETTER TO GEN^{L} WASHINGTON

NEW WINSOR June 16th, 1783

Sir

As it is very unsertain how long it may be before the Honorable Congreſs, may take the petition of the officers of the Army, for lands between the *Ohio* River and Lake *Erie*, into conſideration, or be in a ſittuation to deſide thereon; the Going to Philidelphia to negotiate the buſineſs with any of its members or Com-

[1] For the names of the two hundred and eighty-eight petitioning officers, see *Manasseh Cutler — Life, Journals, and Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 160–167.

REFERENCES TO RUFUS PUTNAM'S PLAN OF PART OF THE CITY OF MARIETTA

References[1]

A B C D. Is the Remains of an ancient wall or rampert of Earth whoſe Baſe is from 25 to 36 feet and its height from 4 to 8 feet. at a it is 5, at b, 4, at c, 8 & at d, 6 feet high. the chaſms or openings in the wall A C the largest 8 perch and the others 4 perch 14 links and the other chaſms appeared to be of the Same propotion

Fig 1 is a mound of Earth with a Horizontol plane on the top 12 perch by 8 and its hight 9 feet with gradual projecting aſsents for going up on each Side while the other parts are as neer parpindiculer as a compoſition of earth will admit

Fig 2 a mound of Earth whoſe height is 8 feet, and the plain on the top 9.3 perch by 8.2 p^{h} and is every other way like the other except it has one Side indented —

Fig 3 is evidently an artificial work but not So high nor perfect as the Figs 1 & 2

Fig 4 is a bank of earth in form as the Figs describe[d] riſeing from 2 to 4 feet

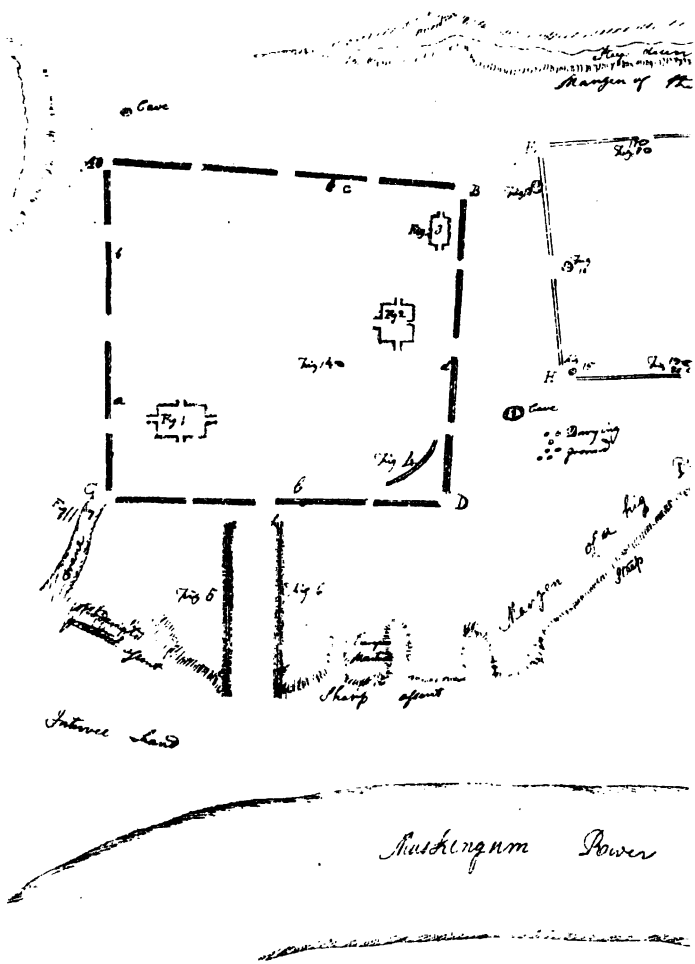
Figs 5 & 6 are two parralel walls of earth, distent from each other (from center to center) 14 perch. at e & f their parpindiculer height is 21 feet, and base 42 feet at g & h their height is 8 feet. (this height was taken on the inſide or between the two walls. on the out Side they are no where more then 5 feet high.) it apears most probable that the margen of the plane was indented hear with a natural hollow which was improved into a Spacious and beautifull pasage from the River to the principle work

Fig 7 has by Some ben conſidiered as an artificial work, but it may be justly doubted it rather appears a natural hollow way

E F G H are walls or banks of earth. their height & base ware

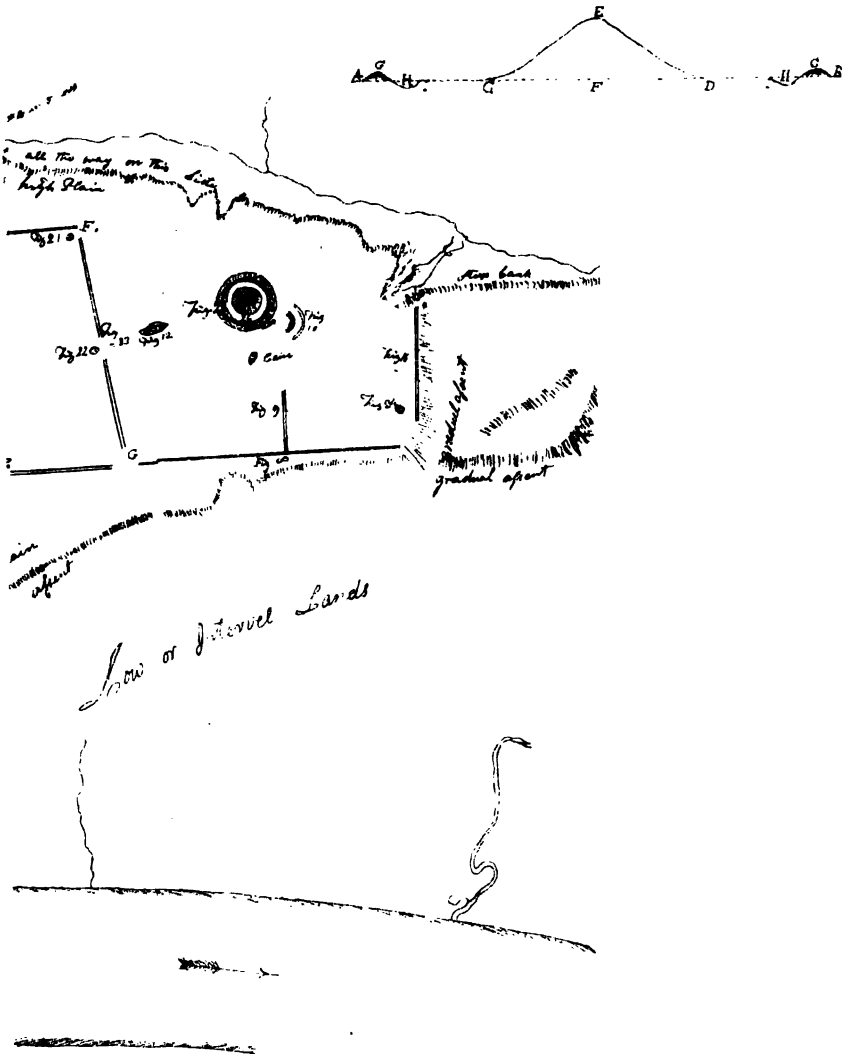
[1] For additional minutes concerning General Putnam's survey of the ancient earthworks, see *Manasseh Cutler — Life, Journals, and Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 418.

(*References continued on back of map.*)



PLAN OF PART OF T

At the confluence of the rivers Ohio and Musk
works found their. Surveyed for the Oh



HE CITY MARIETTA

cingum together with the remains of ancient
io Company. 1788. By Rufus Putnam

(*Continued from front of map.*)

not taken by meaſure, but they appear to be about 20 feet baſe and from 3 to 5 feet high

Figs 8, 9, 10 are all imperfect traces of Somthing that appears like artiffical walls or banks of earth

Fig 11 is the evident traces of a Rampert at the termination of the plane

Fig 12 appears to be an artificial mound of earth whoſe Baſe is in form of an Ellipsis and is about 3 feet high —

Fig 13 is an artifical mound of earth whoſe Baſe is about 4 perch Diameter and forms a hillock about 12 feet high

Figs 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, all of them appear to be artificial hillocks of different dementions their Bases neerly cerculer. none of them are more then 30 feet diameter nor then 5 feet high —

Fig 25 is a mound of Earth whoſe Baſe forms a reguler cercle 115 feet Diameter and its Altitude 30 feet. See the elivation of this Figur in the head [right upper corner] of the Plan —

Fig 26 is a level Space of 33 feet between the mound and Ditch

Fig 27 a Ditch 15 feet wide & 4 feet deep

Fig 28 a wall or Bank of Earth 4 feet high, whoſe Circumference is 45.9 perch, and its baſe 15 feet —

Fig 29 is a chaſm or opening probably intended for Gate way. Caves theſe places are by Some Suppoſed to be artificial, but by others to be northing more then natural Cavins

N B theſe works are all Situated on an Elivated plain, thoe not perfectly level, for Suppose a line drawn through the center of the principle work A B C D to Figure 25 or the Great Mound, the land decends gradually to the Margen of the Plain, where it Sudenly falls about Forty feet, to the Intervel or first bottoms, towards the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, and in like maner towards the rivulets in the opposet direction

Remember the high mound is too far South in this Plan

mitte to whome the petition may be refered, is a meaſure none of the petitioners will think of undertakeing

The part I have taken in promoteing the petition is well known and therefore needs know appologies when I ſay the ſigners expect I will take meaſures to have it laid before Congreſs; under theſe circumſtances I beg leve to put the petition into your Excellencys hands and with the greater aſurenc ask your Patronage of it. — that Congreſs may not be wholly unacquaint with the motive of the petition, I beg you Indulgenc whil I make a few obſervations on the policy and propriety of granting the prayer of it and makeing ſuch arangments of Gariſons in the Western quarter as ſhall give effectual protection to the ſetlers and encourag emigration to the New Goverment which if they meet your approbation, & it is not too grate a favor, I must request your Excellency will please to give them your ſupport & cauſe them to be forwarded with the petition to the preſident of Congreſs in ordor that when the petition is taken up, congreſs, or their committee, may be informed on what principle the petition is grounded —

I am *Sir* among those who conſider the *Ceſsion* of ſo grate a tract of Teritory to the United States, in the Western World as a very happy circumſtance; and of grate conſequence to the American Empire — — nor have I the least doubt but Congreſs will pay an early attention to ſecureing the Allegience of the natives; as well as provide for the defence of that Country in caſe of a War with Great Britain; or Spain ———

one grate mean of ſecuring the allegience of the natives, I take to be the furnishing them with ſuch neceſsaries as they want, and in exchange reciveing

their Furs and Skins — they are become ſo acuſtomed to the use of Fire arms, that I doubt if they could gain a ſubsistence without them, at least they will be very ſorry to be reduced to the disagreeable neceſsity of useing the Bow and Arrow as the only means for killing their gaim, and ſo habituated are they to the Woolen Blanket &c that an abſolute necſsity *alone* will prevent their makeing use of them —

This conſideration alone is, I think, ſufficient to prove the necſsity of eſtablishing ſuch Factories as may furnish an ample ſupply to theſe wretched creatures — for unleſs they are furniſhed by the ſubjects of the United States they will undoubtly ſeek elſe where and like all other people forme their atachments where they have their commerſe, and then in caſe of a war will always be ſertain to *aid* our enemys — therfore if there was no advantage in view but that of ataching them to our intrist, I think good policy would dictate the meaſure of carying on a commerce with theſe people, but when we add to this the conſideration of the profit ariseing from the Indian trade in general, their cannot I preſume be a doubt; that it is the intriſt of the United States to make as earley proviſion for the encouragement and protection of it as posable.

For theſe and many other obvious reaſons, Congreſs will no Doubt find it neceſsery to eſtablish gariſons at *Oswego; Niagara; Michillimakanac;* Illinois; and many other places in the Western World

The *Illinois* and all the post that ſhall be eſtablished on the *Miſsiſippi*, may undoubtedly be furnished by way of the ohio with proviſions at all times; and with goods whenever a War ſhall interrupt the trade with New orleans.

but in case of a war with great Brittain unleſs a

communication is opened between the River *ohio* and Lake *Erie; Niagara, Detroit;* and all the posts ſeated on the grate Lakes, will enevitably be lost — — for with out ſuch communication a Navel ſuperiorety on Lake *ontario,* or the ſeazing on *Niagara;* will ſubject the whole country bordoring on the Lakes to the Will of the enemy — ſuch a miſefortune will put it out of the power of the United States to furniſh the Natives; and neceſsity again will oblige them to take part against us. —

Where and how this communication is to be opened ſhall next be conſidered. if Cap^{t} Hutchens and a number of other Map makers are not out in their calculations; proviſions may be ſent from the ſettelments on the ſouth ſide the *ohio* by the Muskingum or the *Sioto;* to Detroit or even to Niagara, cheaper then from Albany, by the Mohawk to thoſe places — to ſecure ſuch communication (by the Sioto all circumſtances conſidered will be the beſt) let a chain of post be eſtablished. theſe Forts ſhould be built on the bank of the River if the ground will admit and about 20 mile distent from each other and on this plan the Sioto communication, will require ten or eleven, ſtockade Forts Flanked by Block houſes and a company of men will be a ſufficient gariſon for each except the one at the portage which will require more attention in the conſtruction and a larger number of men to gariſon it.

but beſides the ſupplying the gariſons on the great Lakes with provisions, &c — we ought to take into conſideration, the protection that ſuch an arrangement will give to the Frontiers of Virginia Pennſylvania and New-york, — I ſay New-york for we ſhall undoubtedly extend our ſettelments and gariſons from the Hudſon to oſwego; this don and a gariſon poſted

at Niagara, whoever will inſpect the Maps — must be convinced that all the Indians, liveing on the waters of the Mohawk Oſwego; Susquehannah and Alegheny Rivers, and in all the country ſouth of the Lakes, *ontario* and Erie, will be encircled in ſuch a maner as will effectually ſecure their Allegience and keep them quiet, or oblige them to quit their country —

Nor will ſuch an arrangement of posts from the *ohio* to Lake Erie be any additional expence for unleſs this gap is ſhut; notwithſtanding your gariſons on the Lakes, and from oſwego to the Hudſon, yet the Frontier settelers on the *ohio* by Fort Pitt to the Susquehannah and all the Country ſouth of the Mohawk will be exposed to ſavage inſult; unleſs protected by a chain of gariſons which will be far more expencive then the arrangment proposed; and at the ſame time the protection given to these ſtates will be much leſs compleat. — beſides we ſhould not confine our protection to the preſent ſettelments; but cary the Idea of extending them at leaſt as far as the Lakes *ontario* and *Erie.*

theſe Lakes form ſuch a natural barrier that when connected with the Hudſon and *ohio* by the gariſons propoſed, ſettelments in every part of the ſtate, of New york and Pennſylvania may be made with the utmost ſaifty — ſo that theſe States must be deeply intriſted in the Meaſure as well as Virginnia — who will have a grate part of her Frontier ſecured and the reſt much ſtrengthened —

Nor is there a ſtate in the Union but will be greatly benefited by the meaſure, conſidered in a nother point of view — for without any expence except a ſmall allowance of purches money to the Natives; the United States will have within their protection about

17,500,000 of acres of very fine lands, to dispose of as they ſhall think proper. — but I haſten to mention ſome of the expectations which the petitioners have reſpecting the conditions on which they hope to obtain the lands; this was not proper to mention in the body of the petition eſpecially as we pray for grants to all members of the army who wiſh to take up lands in that quarter

The whole tract is ſupposed to contain about 17,418240 acres and will admit of 756 Townſhips of ſix mile ſquare — alowing to each Townſhip 3040 acres for the Mineſtry; ſchools; Wast lands; Rivers ponds and Highways then each Townſhip will contain of ſetlers lands 20,000 acres and in the whole 15,120,000 acres — the lands to which the army are entiteled by the reſolves of Congreſs refered to in the petition, according to my eſtemate will amount to about 2,106,850 acres which is about the 8th part of the whole for the *ſurvey* of this the army expect to be at no expence, nor do they expect to be under any obligation to ſettle theſe lands or do any duty to ſecure their title in them — but in ordor to induce the army to become ſetlers in the New Goverment the petitioners hope Congreſs will make a further grant of lands on condition of ſettelment, and have no doubt but that honorable body will be as liberal to all who are not provided for by their owne States as New-york have ben to the *officers* and *ſoldiers* who belong to that ſtate — which if they do it will require about 8,000,000 of acres to compleat the army and about 7,000,000 of acres will remain which the petitioner hope Congreſs will grant the army the excluſive right, at leaſt for a time of purchesing with publc ſecurity at a given [?] price

Theſe Sir ware the principels which gave riſe to the

petition under conſideration, the Petitioners, at least ſome of them, concive that ſound policy dictate the meaſure and that Congreſs ought to looſe no time in eaſtbliſhing ſome ſuch chain of posts as has ben hinted at, and in procureing the tract of country petitioned for of the Natives — for the moment this is don and agreeable tearms offered to the ſetlers many of the petitioners are ditermined not only to become adventurers but actually to remove themſelves to this country; and their is not the least doubt but many other valuable Cittizens will follow their example; and the proverbility is that the Country between the ohio and Lake Erie in a very few years will be filled with Inhabitents; and the faithfull ſubject of the United States, ſo eſtabliſhed on the Waters of the ohio and the Lakes as to baniſh forever the Idea of our Weſtern Teritory falling under the Dominion of any European power the Frontiers of the old ſtates will be effectually ſecured from ſavage alarams and the *New* will have little to fear from their Inſults.

but I cannot cloſe this letter without obſerveing that the petitioners (at least ſom of them) are much oppoſed to the monopoly of lands and wiſh to guard against large patents being Granted to indeviduals, as in their opinion ſuch a mode is very injurious to a country and grately retards its ſettelment, and whenever ſuch patannts are Tenanted, it throws too much power in the hands of a few — for theſe and many other obvious reaſons the petitioners hope no grants will be made but by Townſhips of ſix mile ſquair or ſix by twelve or ſix by eighteen; to be ſubdivided by the proprietors: to ſix mile ſquair that being the ſtandard on which they wiſh all calculation may be made and that officers and ſoldiers as well

as thoſe who petition for charters; on purches, may form their aſoſiation on one Uniform priciple as to Number of perſons or rights to be contained in a Townſhip — with this exception only that when the Grant is made for reward of ſervice already don or on condition of ſettelment, if the officers petition with the ſoldiers for a pirticuler Townſhip, the ſoldier ſhall have one right only to three of the Captain and ſo in propotion with other officer. to be the better underſtood I will propoſe the following ſcheam, each claſs of proprietors for a grant or charter of land to conſist of 100 rights made up in the following maner [1]

COPPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^{L} WASHINGTON

RUTLAND April y^{e} 5th 1784

Dear Sir

being unavoidably prevented from attending the General meeting of the Cincinati at Philidelphia as I had intended where I once more expected the oppertunity in perſon to pay my reſpects to your Excellency, I cannot denye my Self the honour of addreſsing you by letter, to acknowledge with gratitude the ten thousand obligations I feal my Self under to your goodneſs and moſt Sincearly to congratulate you on your return to domistic hapineſs, to enquire after your health and wiſh the best of heavens bleſsings may attend you and your Dear Lady —

the Settlement of the ohio Country Sir ingroſses many of my thoughts, and much of my time Sence I left Camp has ben employed in informing my Self and others with reſpect to the Nature Situation and circumſtances of that country, and the pratability of removeing our Selves there and if I am to form an opinion on what I have Seen and heard on the Sub-

[1] The original draft is incomplete.

ject there is thousands in this quarter will Emigrate to that country as Soon as the honourable Congreſs make provision for granting lands their and locations and Settlements can be made with Saifty, unleſs such provision is too long delayed, I mean till neceſsity turn their view another way which is the caſe with Some already and must Soon be the caſe with many more — you are Sencible of the neceſsity as well as the propriety of both officers and Soldiers fixing them Selves in buſineſs Somewhere as Soon as posable, as many of them are unable to lie long on their oars waiting the desition of Congreſs on our petition and therefore muſt unavoidably fix them Selves in Some other quarter which when don the Idea of removeing to the ohio Country will probably be at an end with reſpect to most of them — besides the Commonwealth of Maſsachusetts have come to a reſolution to Sell their Eastern Country for public Securities, and Should their plan be formed and their propositions be made public before we hear any thing from Congreſs reſpecting our petition and the terms on which the lands petitioned for, are to be obtained it will undoubtedly be much against us by Greatly leſsening the number of ohio aſsociates

Another reaſon why we wiſh to know as Soon as posable what the intentions of Congreſs are reſpecting our petition is the effect Such knowledge will probably have on the Credit of the Certificates we have recived on Settlement of accounts those Securities are now Selling at no more then 3/6 & 4/ on the pound, which in all probability might double if no more the moment it was known that Goverment would recive them for lands in the ohio Country — from theſe circumſtances and many others which might be mentioned we are growing quite impatient

and the general enquiry now is when are we going to the Ohio — among others Brigdear Gen[l] Tupper L[t] Col[o] Oliver and Major Aſhley have agreed to accompany me to that country the moment the way is open for Such an undertakeing —

I Should have hinted theſe things to Some member of Congreſs, but the Delegates from Maſsachusetts althoe exceeding worthy men and in General would wiſh to promote the Ohio Scheme yet if it Should Militate with the perticuler intrest of this State by draneing her of inhabitants eſpecially when she is forming the plan of Selling the Eastern country, I thought they would not be very warm advocates in our favor and I dare not trust my Self with any of the New york Delagates with whome I was acquainted, becauſe that Goverment are wiſely inviteing the Eastern people to Settle in that State and as to the Deligats of other States I have no acquaintance with any of them

theſe circumſtances must apologize for my troubleing you on this Subject, and requesting the favor of a line to inform us in this quarter what the prospects are with reſpect to our petition and what meaſures have or are like to be taken with reſpect to Settling the ohio Country —

I Shall take it as a very perticuler favor Sir if you will be kind enough to recommend me to Some Charractor in Congreſs acquainted with and attached to the ohio cauſe with whome I may preſume to open a corispondence

I am Sir with the Highest reſpect
your humble Servant

RUFUS PUTNAM

Gen[l] WASHINGTON

GEN^{L} WASHINGTONS LETTER

MOUNT VERNON 2d June 1784

Dear Sir,

I could not answer your favor of the 5th of April[1] from Philadelphia because Gen^{l} Knox having mislaid, only presented the letter to me in the moment of my departure from that place. — The sentiments of esteem & friendship which breathe in it are exceedingly pleasing & flattering to me — and you may rest aſsured they are reciprocal. —

I wish it was in my power to give you a more favorable acc^{t} of the Officers petition for Lands on the Ohio, & its Waters than I am about to do — After this matter, & information respecting the establishment for Peace, were my enquiries as I went through Annapolis solely directed but I could not learn that any thing decisive had been done in either — Of the latter I hear Congreſs are differing about their powers but as they have accepted of the Ceſsion from Virginia & have resolved to lay off 10 New States bounded by latitudes & longitudes it should be supposed that they would determine something respecting the former before they adjourn; and yet, I very much question it as the latter is to happen on the third — that is to morrow —

As the Congreſs who are to meet in November next by the adjournment will be composed from an entire new choice of Delegates in each State it is not in my power at *this time* to direct you to a proper corrispondent in that body — I wish I could — for persuaded I am that to some such cause as you have aſsigned may be aſcribed the delay the petition has encountered for *surely* if *justice* & *gratitude* to the

[1] Page 223.

Army — and *gen^l policy* of the Union were to govern in this case there would not be the smallest interruption in granting its request — I really feel for those Gentlemen who by these unaccountable delays (by any other means than those you have suggested) are held in such an awkward & disagreeable State of suspence; and wish my endeavors could remove the obstacles — at Princeton (before Congreſs left that place) I exerted every power I was master of, & dwelt upon the arguments you have used to shew the propriety of a speedy decision — every member with whom I conversed acquiesced in the reasonableneſs of the petition — all yielded, or seemed to yield to the policy of it, but plead the want of ceſsion of the Land to act upon — this is made and accepted & yet matters (as far as they have come to my knowledge) remain in Statu quo.

I am endeavoring to do something with the lands I now hold, & have held in that Country these 12 or 14 years — The enclosed[1] contain the terms upon which I propose to Lease them — I am not sanguine in my expectations that I shall obtain Tenants upon them in this Country; & yet, on Leases renewable for ever, or for the term of 999 years I will not (considering the advantages of these Lands, in quality & situation) take leſs — for a *short* term I care little about the Rents because knowing the value and convenience of the Land, I am certain that the improvements which are conditioned to be made thereon, will enable me thereafter to command my own terms — if you think the promulgation of the Paper enclosed can be of

[1] Page 228.

Service to others or myself it is optional with you to do it

I am — Dr Sir
With very sincere esteem & regard
Yr Most Obed Servt
Go WASHINGTON

Brig Genl PUTNAM.

GENL WASHINGTONS ADVERTIZEMENT

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

MOUNT-VERNON, *April* 2, 1784.

The Subſcriber would leaſe about 30,000 acres of land on the Ohio and Great Kanhawa, for which he has had patents ten or twelve years: Ten thouſand of theſe, in three tracts, lie upon the Ohio, between the mouths of the two Kanhawas, having a front upon the river of fifteen miles, and beautifully bordered by it. — The remaining 20,000 acres, in four other ſurveys, lie upon the Great Kanhawa, from the mouth, or near it, upwards. — Theſe four tracts, together, have a margin upon that river, by which it is bounded, of more than 40 miles.

After having ſaid thus much of the land, it is almoſt ſuperfluous to add that the whole of it is river low grounds, of the firſt quality — but it is eſſential to remark that a great deal of it may be converted into the fineſt mowing ground imaginable, with little or no labour, nature, and the water-ſtops which have been made by the bever, having done *more* to effect this, than years of hard labour in moſt other rich ſoils; and that the land back of theſe bottoms, muſt for ever render the latter uncommonly profitable for ſtock, on account of the extenſiveneſs of the range, as it is of a nature, being extremely broken, not to be ſeated or cultivated.

Theſe lands may be had on three tenures — Firſt, until January 1795, and no longer. — Second, until January 1795, renewable every ten years for ever. — Third, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years.

The RENTS, CONDITIONS, and PRIVILEGES, are as follow:

First, An exemption from rent three years, upon condition, that five acres for every hundred, and proportionably for a greater or leſſer quantity, contained in the leaſe, ſhall, within that ſpace be cleared and tilled, or in order for the latter; and a houſe fit for the comfortable accommodation of the tenant erected on the premiſes.

Second, That before the expiration of the term of the leaſes of the firſt tenure, or the firſt ten years of thoſe of the ſecond and third, a dwelling-houſe of brick, or ſtone, or of framed work, with a ſtone or brick chimney, and a good barn, ſuited to the ſize of the tenement, ſhall be built thereon; an orchard of good fruit, to conſiſt of as many trees as there are acres ſpecified in the leaſe planted and incloſed; and five acres for every hundred, and proportionably for a greater or leſſer quantity, improved into meadow, which, or the like quantity, ſhall always be retained for mowing.

Third, The land to be accurately meaſured to each grantee, who will be allowed to take (in regular form with an extenſion back proportioned to the front of the river) as much as his inclination and ability may require, which quantity ſhall be ſecured to him and his heirs, by a leaſe in the uſual form, with proper clauſes, binding on landlord and tenant, for performance of covenants.

Fourth, A Spaniſh milled dollar of the preſent coin, ſhall paſs in payment for ſix ſhillings, and other gold and ſilver in that proportion.

Fifth, The ſtaple commodity, or other article of produce (for the greater eaſe and convenience of the tenant) may be ſubſtituted in lieu of money-rent in the leaſes, if the parties, at or before the firſt rent ſhall become due, can agree upon a medium value for it.

Sixth, If the exigency or policy of the State in which theſe lands lie, ſhould at any time impoſe a tax upon them, or their appendages, ſuch tax is to be borne by the tenant.

Seventh, Theſe conditions, &c. being common to the leaſes of the three different tenures, the rent of the firſt will be *Four Pounds* per annum, for every hundred acres contained in the leaſe, and proportionably for a greater or leſſer quantity. — Of the ſecond, *One Shilling* for every acre contained in the leaſe, until the year 1795 — *One Shilling and Sixpence* for the like quantity afterwards, until the year 1805 — *Two Shillings* afterwards, till the year 1815 — and the like increaſe per acre for every ten years, until the rent amounts to and ſhall have remained at *Five Shillings* for the ten years next enſuing — after which it is to encreaſe *Three-pence* per acre every ten years forever. — Of the Third, *Two Shillings* for every acre therein contained, at which it will ſtand for 999 years, the term for which it is granted.

The ſituation of theſe lands are not only pleaſant, but in any point of view, in which they can be conſidered, muſt be exceedingly advantageous; for if the produce of the country, according to the ideas of ſome, ſhould go down the Miſſiſſippi, they are nearly as convenient for that tranſportation, having the ſtream without any obſtruction in it to deſcend, as thoſe which are now ſettling about the Falls of the Ohio, and upon Kentucky — to the choice of which, among other reaſons, people were *driven* by the grants to the officers

and ſoldiers, of which theſe are part in the upper country, and from the impracticability of obtaining lands in extenſive bodies elſewhere. — If it ſhould come by way of Fort-Pitt to Potomack (which is the moſt natural) or to the Suſquehanna — by the Great Kanhawa to James-River — or by the Lakes Erie and Ontario to New-York, they are infinitely more ſo — being, according to Hutchins's table of diſtances, 422 miles (all of which is againſt the ſtream) nearer to thoſe markets than the ſettlements laſt mentioned: — And what in the preſent ſituation of things, is a matter of no trifling conſideration, no other claims can interfere with theſe, patents having been long granted for the land, and the property of it well known; — and beſides, by lying on the ſouth eaſt ſide of the Ohio, can give no jealouſy to the Indians — the proprietors of it therefore may cultivate their farms in peace, and fiſh, fowl, and hunt, without fear or moleſtation.

Although I do not lay any ſtreſs upon it, the preſumption being that the Indians, during the late war, have laid all *in ruins* — yet it is on record in the courts of Botetourt and Fincaſtle (in which counties the land did lie) that buildings, meadows, and other improvements, which were made thereon in the years 1774 and 1775, deſignedly for the accommodation of tenants, coſt the Subſcriber, as appears by oaths of ſworn appraiſers (conformably to the directions of an act of the Aſſembly of Virginia, for ſeating and cultivating new lands) £.1568 18*s.* 7½, equal to £.1961 3*s.* 3*d.* Maryland Pennſylvania, or Jerſey currency.

Theſe lands being peculiarly well adapted for ſmall ſocieties, who may incline to be detached and retired — Any ſuch applying in a body, or by their paſtors or agents, ſhall have every aſſiſtance and encourage-

ment, which can with convenience and propriety be given, by

G. WASHINGTON.

Alexandria: Printed By G. Richards, and Company.

SECRETARY THOMPSONS LETTER

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF CONGRESS
May 28th 1785

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that the United States, in Conformity to their Ordinance for aſcertaining the mode of diſpoſing of lands in the western territory, of which I encloſe you a copy, have proceeded to the election of Surveyors and have choſen you one of them. You will please to inform me, as ſoon as poſsible, of your Acceptance that I may make Report thereof to Congreſs. —

I am
Sir your obedient
humble Servant
CHA THOMSON

Mr RUFUS PUTNAM

COPY OF A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

NEW YORK July 24th 1790

Sir

I left Muskingum the 2d inſtent. Northing New in that quarter Sence Mr Morgan came on except, that a number of horſes ware Stolen and one man killed, at Belle-vill (a Virginia Settlement about three mile below the Great Hockhocking) which appears to be a Miſchief altogather unprovoaked — and about the 28th of June a woman was taken on the Virginnia Side neer Buffaloe Creek, and afterward murdered — but this buſineſs was prefaced by the White people

Stealing a number of horſes from the Indians and refuseing to deliver them up:

the New england people have had many horſes Stolen last fall & this Spring. Some by white people, but more by Indians, and there is Sufficient evidence that the Dellewares & Wyndot who were at the last Treety as well as the Shawones have ben concerned in this Robery —— there is alſo good reaſon to beleve that Several belonging to thoſe tribes who attended the last treet[y] have ben concerned in murdering the people and plundng the boats going down the ohio the last winter & Spring. and it is alſo Said that a number of White people were among that Gang of Robbers it Seems they are provided with Boats on the Sioto & haveing obtained any booty retiere with it up that River. a Small Detachment of Troops Stationed at the mouth of the Sioto I think would in Great meaſure if not wholly put a Stop to this kind of buſineſs, and at the Same time give confidence to the New Settlements commenceing between that and the Great Kenhawa —

by letters recived at Muskingum from M^r^ Secretary Sargent, I learned that Govn S^t^ Clair was Still in Illions [Illinois] country and would not probably return to Muskingum till october. I alſo heard that Miſieurs Syms and Turner[1] left the Miami, in the month of May to attend the Govenor — under theſe Circumſtances I concived it best to return imediately for my family and expect to be at Muskingum with them by the time the Govenor Shall return —

I leve this on monday morning. Shall be in town again the first or Second week in September on my way to Muskingum

[1] General Putnam's judicial colleagues.

LETTER TO M^R AMES [1]

1790

Sir

In converſation with you at New-york in July last (if I recollect right) you made this a question "? can we retain the western country within the goverment of the United States: and if we can of what use will it be too them" —

I confeſs this Subject is far beyond my abilities to do Justice too yet I feal my Self so intrested in the question that I cannot forbare makeing a few observations thereon.

For that those countrys may *always* be retained within the goverment of the United States, & that it will be our intrest they Should is, at preſent, my desided opinion —

that they may be retained appears to me evident from the following consideration viz that it will always be their intrest they Should remain connected. now Sir if I can prove this: I concive that the proposition that they may be retained &c, will be fully eſtablished; for it is unreaſonable to Suppose that a people *will purſue* meaſures inconſistent with their intrest: althoe it is posable they may. it is true that Flour, Hemp, Tobacco, Iron, Pot-aſh, and Such bulky articles will go down the Miſsiſippi to New orleans for Market, and be their Sold, or Shiped to the Atlantic States; Europe & the West Indies, and it is alſo admited that the countrys west of the mountains and lying below or to the Southward of the Junction of the Ohio with the Miſsiſippi; may Import goods from New orleans; and therefore it is abſolutely neceſsary that the people of the Western

[1] Fisher Ames, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

Country, in Some way or other, at a proper period Should be poſsesſed of the free navagation of the Miſsiſippi river. but it dos not follow from hence that it will be for their intrest to loose their connection with the Atlantic States but the contrary will appear if we consider: that all the Beef, Pork, & Mutton (from a very Great part of the western country) will come to the Seaports of Verginia, Maryland & Pennſylvania to market, as will alſo most of the Furs Skins, &c, obtained by the Indian Trade to those places & New York much more to the advantage of the West country people then they can be Sent to New-orleans, or Quebeck

Beſides, all the Goods for carrying on the Indian Trade as well as Supplying the Inhabitants even to the Kentucke and Wabaſh Country, are, *at preſent*, imported into that country from Philidelphia, Baltimore, Alexandria, &c &c &c much cheaper then they can be obtained from New-orleans, or Quebeck. And their is not the lest doubt but when the navagation of the Potowmack is compleated, with the carrying place to the Monongahala, according to the plan of the undertakers, the transport of goods, into the western country will be lowered fifty per Cent — and Should other communication be opened, which their is no doubt but their will, between the Susquehannah & Allegheny Rivers — James River and the Great Kenhawa; the expence of Transportation will be reduced Still lower. In Short from the Seaports of the United States: to Niagara Detroit & even to the Lake of the Woods; goods can be Supplyed cheaper then from any other quarter —

From this Statement of facts which I preſume can never be disproved, I concive it fully appears to be the intrest of the peopl of the Western country to

remain a part of the United States. if it be Said they may be Seperated and yet retain all the advantages of Trade here mentioned, I anſwer that is poſable, but by no means probable; for (admit the Seperation was not hostile) it is by no means reaſonable to Suppose that the Leglislature of the United States would pay the Same attention to the Subjects of a Foreign power as to their own; nor is it to be preſumed that thoſe people will ever Forget, that while they remain a part of the union, they will have their voice in all the councils of the nation, and that no law can paſs but what must effect their breathren on this Side the mountain as well as themſelves to be deprived of a commerce with the United States would be greatly to the injury if not the ruin of that country, and to voluntarily deny themſelves a voice in the regulation of that commerce and trust them Selves (without any check or controul) in the hands of those whose intrest would be distinct from their own, is a folly I trust they never will be guilty of —

But it may be said their are advantages to be gained which will over ballance all this loſs — pray let us attend a little to this matter. ? will they put them Selves under the Vice-Roy of Canada ? what will be their gain here: a Leglislative Council of the Kings own appointment; gives law to the province, except that the whole is under the controul of a Military Govenor. a few by permiſion from Lord Dotchester, or Somebody else, may cary goods into the Indian country. but the returns must be made to Quebeck. Surely this Goverment can never Suit their genus nor be for their intrest — Nor is the advantage to be derived from the Spanish Goverment much better. it is True that New-orleans will be a great Mart for their produce, but it is very doubtfull

if they ware Spanish Subjects whether they would enjoy greater previledges then they might without — The inhabitants would certainly have no voice in the matter but must be Subject to the will of a Despot. they could expect no indulgence but what Should comport with the intreſt of the govenor and Spaniſh Court and this they may reaſonably expect even Should they remain a part of the United States: So that if the object be to unite them with Great Brittain or Spain I See northing that is in the lest degree worth their attention —

but prehaps the Idea is that they Should Set up for a Seperate independent Goverment: this maggot I know is in the head of Some people; therefore we will consider of it a little and See if we can find it to be for their intrest: and for argument Sake we will Suppose the United States to consent to all this, we will ſuppose more, that they Grant a free trade to the Subjects of this New goverment; and then pray tell me what they will be bettered for it — nay ? will they not be in a much worse Situation ? will they not incur a very Great expence to Support their new Goverment beyond what their propotion to the old can posably be: and ? can it then be for their intrest to be Seperated.

it may be Said they want a free trade to New orleans and thence to Sea, that while they remain a part of the United States this is not likely to be obtained, that the intrest of the old States and theirs in this reſpect is inconsistent with each other, that the object is first to Seperate them Selves from the Union and then to clear the river of the Spaniards — this I have heard is the language of Some people at Kentucke: but ? is it rational ? will the meaſure be for their intrest and if not for their intrest are we to Sup-

pose the meaſure will be purſued ? have theſe people conſidered that the United States are deeply intrested in oppoſeing Such Seperation ? have they conſidered that driveing the Spaniards out of the River will not give them a free Trade to Sea ? do they know that the Harbours of Penſacola and the Havanna are So Situated that a few Cruſers from them Sent into the Bay not one veſſel in a thousand going from or returning to the Miſsisippi would eſcape falling into their hands. no Sir So far would Such a meaſure be from giveing them a free trade to Sea that it would put an end to their preſent market and all reaſonable prospects of a compenſation for the loſs — nor do I concive that the intrest of the atlantic States and the western country as it reſpects the Navagation of the Miſsisippi by any means claſh — For if it is for the intrest of the United States; that Tobacco, Flour Pot-aſh, Iron & lumber of all kinds with Ships ready built, Should be Sent to Europe and the West Indies by way of remittence for goods obtained from thoſe Countrys — if Hemp, Flax, Iron and many other raw meterials be of any use to be brought into the Atlantic States for the purpos of manufacturing — then it is the intreſt of thoſe States that the Navagation of the Miſsisippi Should be free

Thus Sir I have endevored to prove that it is and always will be the intrest of the Western country to remain a part of the United States — I do not deny but what Such circumstances may exist, as Shall not only make it the wiſh of Sum but of all the inhabitants of that country to be Seperated from the old States: but what I contend for is that theſe circumstances do not nor ever can (if I may be alowed the expreſsion) exist naturely. I alow that Should Congreſs give up her claim to the navagation of the

Miſſisippi or Ceed it to the Spaniards, I beleve the people in the Western quarter would Seperate them Selves from the United States very Soon. Such a meaſure I have no doubt would excite So much rage and disafection that the people would Sooner put themſelves under the despotic goverment of Spain then remain the indented Servents of Congreſs — or Should Congreſs by any means fail to give the inhabitants of that country Such protection as their preſent Infant State requires, connected with the intrest and dignity of the United States, in that caſe Such events may take place as will oblige the inhabitents of that country to put themſelves under the protection of Great Brittain or Spain: and I know alſo that in every country their are ambitious minds who paying more attention to the emoluments of office then the public good, may Influence people to purſue, as the object of their hapineſs, meaſures which will end in their ruin but theſe things make northing against my proposition, for we are not to Suppose that Congreſs will do wrong where it is their intrest to do right. and this brings me to enquire of what uſe those countrys may be to the United States. and first the lands of the Western Teritory and which are the property of the United States, except what claim the natives have to them amount at leſt to — 169,600,000, acres out of which must be reſerved for future Sale 14,133,333, acres agreably to the ordinance of the late Congreſs. then 155,466,667 acres remain for Sale now Suppose this Sold at half a Dollar per acre (which is ½ of a Dollar below what any has ben Sold for as yet) and it amounts to 77,733,333·5 Dollars. but it may be Said this is the price in Public Securities, and that the lands will not fetch more then a quarter that Sum in hard money. be it So, and then the neat

proceeds will amount to 19,433333.7 [sic] Dollars. this Sir is no trifeling Som but is by no means the Greatest advantage to be derived from thoſe lands. three lots of one mile Square is (by the ordinance of the Late Congreſs) reſerved in each Township for the future Disposition of Goverment and the Local Situation of theſe lots are such as to command a high price, and at the end of half a Century (in which time they are to cost the goverment northing) it is a very moderate calculation to rate them at four Dollars the acre in Specie and then their amount will be 56,533,332, dollars a Sum Sufficient to build and equip a Fleet Superiour to that any nation in Europe — we have before hinted that the produce of the Western country will afford a Great Source of remittence for European & West India Goods, and in a very few years that country will be able to Supply the Atlantic States with Such abundence of the raw meterials for makeing Duck and Cordage as will prevent all neceſsity of Sending abroad for thoſe

the perticuler advantage to be derived from the paltry Trade I am not able to aſsertain, however, this we know that it is conſidered as a very Lucrative buſineſs, that it affords meterials for manufatories, much to the advantage of the Engliſh Subject, and the advantage this trade must be to us would undoubtedly exceed what it is or can be to them — in the year 1773 I heard M^{r} Chester, then Govenor of Weſt Florida, Say that from the duty paid in London, on the American Peltry it appeared, the Indian paid a Tax to the king of two Shiling Sterling on each poll, includeing men women and children, and why a revenue might not be derived to the United Stats from this quarter I know not —

again while thoſe countrys remain a part of the

United States they will pay the Same dutys on all imported goods which they conſume as the other Subjects of the Union. which in caſe of a Seperation would be totally lost. and the Same obſervation applys equelly to all Goods furnished for the Indian Trade — at preſent this revenu may not exceed 20,000 Dollars but in the Course of half a Century if we only Suppose the number of inhabitants to be one Million & the goods they Shall conſume, to be at the rate only of three dollars and one third per person (which is a very moderate allowance for an anuel conſumtion) this only at five per Cent, will amount to 166,500, dollars pr annum

I am Sencible their will be Some expence attending this buſineſs for the Indian Treaties & preſents we will alow 20,000 dollars a year, for fifty year, which will amount to no more than one Million of Dollars, and we will allow three regiments of Infentry and an Artillery core equel to a regiment of Infentry in expence and to this we will ad a Core of Horſe of like expence. then we Shall have the anual expence of five Regiments and we will alow the pay victualling and cloathing of each Regiment to anually Cost one hundred thousand Dollars, then the anual expence of the whole will be half a million of Dollars. this Sir is makeing a very extravagant charge againſt that country for its protection, yet when we take into conſideration the value of the lands when Sold, the products of the Country for remittence and manufactorys, the Peltry trade &c with the duty on imported goods, Sent into that country for the Indian trade and the conſumption of its inhabitants, the Ballance in favor of retaining that teritory as a part of the United States appears evident to be very great — But their is another point of light in which

we ought to consider this matter, for if we would know the real advantages that country must be to this, remaining United, we ought to consider what probable miſchefs will enſue by a Disunion: and among theſe may be reconed the loſs of more then Seventy five million of Dollars in the Sale of lands, an annual revennue of more then one hundred & Sixty thousand Dollars on european, & west India Goods, with all the advantages that can posably arriſe from the Peltry trade And what is matter of Serious consideration, it is more then probable (in caſe of a Seperation from the United States) that country would be divided between Great Brittain and Spain. for I can See no reaſon to Suppose they will maintain a Seperate existence. and then I Suppose the western boundary of the United States must be the Allegheny mountains; a miſerable Frontier this (and yet the best to be found if we give up the Western country) that will require more expence to Guarde, then the protection of all the western Teritory — The natural boundaries of the Great Lakes and the Miſiſippi River aded to the inhabitants of the Western quarter will give Such Strenght and Security to the old States if properly attended too, as they must, most Sensiably feal the want of in caſe of a Seperation —

But I have no doubt, but you Sir and all the members of Congreſs, will give the Subject a full examination, and ditermin on Such meaſures as will most promote the General good of the nation, and in that caſe I think one might reaſonably hope, Soon to See the forces of the United States in the western country So increased in numbers that, if the British poſts are not given up, yet Such eſtablishments may be made in the Indian country as to bring the natives

who at present remain hostile, to Submision And protect the Nations who are well disposed towards us, not only from their Savage Breethren who are So much under Britiſh influence, but alſo from the people on the Frontiers of Pennſylvania & Virginnia, too many of whome reguard not the authorety of their own States, nor yet of Congreſs, more then the Savages themſelves — In this place Sir, I will take the liberty to inform you that in the year 1783 a petition was preſented to the then congreſs praying for a grant of lands in the western quarter; that the utility and policy of eſtabliſhing Posts and forming Settlements that Should extend from the Ohio to Lake Erie was clearly pointed out in a letter from the Commander in Cheif, and other papers accompaning Said petition, and which I preſume are now among the files of the late Congreſs, which I wiſh you to conſult at your leaſure. Beging leve at this time to add, that I concive the more this Subject is examined the greater will appear the conſequence that it Should be effected as Soon as practicable: for from Lake Erie, by a very eaſie navagation, and Short portages, an army may decend by the Allegheny, Muskingum, Sioto, Big Miami, or the Wabash Rivers into any part of the Ohio Country, and So from Lake Erie as from a common center fall on any part of the Ohio Country, extending more then one thousand miles in length on that river, and thus the whole western Teritory is liable to be loſt by Surprize. while on the other hand was their posts eſtabliſhed on, or neer, Lake Erie, even thoe we ware not in poſsestion of Detroit or Niagara, the natives disposed to peace would be protected, their numbers and attachment increesed, the Indian Trade greatly augmented, and that country Soon filled with inhabitents in Such maner that

every reaſonable fear of looſeing it in caſe of a war with Great Brittain would be for ever Baniſhed —

was this protection given we might reaſonably hope to See So numerous a body of well informed and well disposed Citizens placeing themſelves in that quarter as would be able to counteract all the meaſures which any might attempt toward a Seperation from the old States — And if this protection is Given ? might we not alſo hope from the lands already Granted for a University, and others appropriated for the Support of Schools in General, with Some further provisions of little expence, I Say might we not hope, *Soon* to See Such means of education Set on foot as will have a most favorable aſpect on the maners of the people in that country, and remove the danger that in a State of Ignorence with the art of deſigning men they will always be under to miſstake their true intrest —

if Sir the Western country is to be retained as a part of the United States, I concive the Immediate protection and peopeling of that tract between the ohio and lake Erie has a Direct Tendency and is the first link in the chain of arrangments towards compaſsing the Great object, and if neglected may prove an infinite miſschief to the United States : for it was in full confidence that Such protection would be aforded that the ohio, Sioto and other companys have contracted for lands to a very great amount. Now Sir unleſs this protection is given theſe contracts must all fail (to the loſs of many Million of dollars to the United States) *for of what value are lands without inhabitants, and who will wiſh to inhabit a country where no reasonable protection is aforded* —

Another circumſtance which renders the present moment importent, in point of giveing that diſtrict

protection, Is, the people Settling at Muskingum & the Miami, not haveing thoſe prejudices against the Natives which commonly ariſe from long wars with them, are lead into Such a line of conduct towards them, under the wise management of Govenor St Clare and other principle carractors, as gives the fairest prospect of peace and tranquilety to the frontiers in general, if Such military force is eſtabliſhed as Shall make the goverment of the united States in the Western teritory a terror to evil doers, and a protection to Such as Shall do well. —

I have already exceeded the common bounds of a letter but their is one circumſtance, I cannot forbare mentioning which is the opposition that many New-England people and perticulerly in Maſsachusetts, expreſs against the Settlement of the Western country, eſpecially by their own inhabitants removeing thither. this oppoſition I preſume ariſes cheifly from two Sources, viz. the drawing off her inhabitants and preventing the Settlement of her eastern lands ——

as to the first I concive it will make no meterial odds for if they do not remove to the ohio they will emigrate to New york, or Vermont — while their is any vacant lands to be come at the population in the cultivated part of the country will remain neerly the Same. I beleve in old Maſsachusetts the number of pools has varied very little this many years, and the reaſon is obvious for within that tract their is no room for new Settlements of any conſequence. And as to the eastern country it is a very fine place for lumber, and in that reſpect is of great Service to Maſsachusetts: but any conſiderable number of people more in that district then to cary on this buſineſs will be a diservice distroying the timber which ought

to be preſerved —— that country in General is not fit for cultivation and when this idea is connected with the climate, a man ought to conſider himſelf curst even in this world who is doomed to inhabit their as a cultivater of the lands only; however I cannot Suppose the ohio cuntry will much affect the Settlement of the eastern lands because those people who have not a double curſe entailed to them will go to New york or Vermont, rather then to the eastward —

Maſsachusetts Sir is in no danger of being depopulated for the ohio country, nor even heaven it Self, will not invite them in Such multitudes as to leſsen her present numbers nor on the other hand will any policy prevent the emigration of her inhabitants in Such Swarms, as that her numbers Shall not greatly increſe while their are vacant lands in any quarter to be had — And to what country can the inhabitants of the Maſsachusetts emigrage So much to her advantage as the ohio ? is it not for the intrest of New-england that the western country Should in their, maners, morrals, relegion, and policy, take the eastern States for their modle ? is the Genus education, &c, of any people So favorable to republican Goverment as theirs; and Should they not then by throwing in of their Citizens endevor to take the lead, and give a tone to the New States forming in the western quarter —

Beſides the products of the ohio Country will interfere much leſs, or rather they will be of more utility to Maſsachusetts then to any other of the atlantic States, Tobacco, flour, hemp, flax, rice & Indego being the chief articles for exportation, nither of which are raised in Maſsachusetts in any conſiderable quantety; but when the navagation of the Miſsisippi Shall

become free will all find their way to the Seaports of that State and much to the advantage of her citizens who Shall be concerned in the Trade —

I have only to add, that however inaccurate this addreſs may appear, yet none will deny but the Subject is importent — and I pray god it may have a full and candid enquiery by all concerned in the councils of the Nation ——

I have the honour to be Sir, with
much eſteam your humble
Servent

MARIETTA Jany 6th 1791 [1]

Dear Sir

Our proſpects are much changed. in ſtead of peace and friendſhip with our Indian neighbours a hored Savage war Stairs us in the face the Indians in ſtead of being humbled by the Deſtruction of the Shawone Towns & brought to beg for peace, appear ditermined on a general War, in which our Settlements are already involved. on the evening of the 2d inſtent they fell on a new Settlement about 40 mile up the Muskingum, Surprized a Blockhouse killed 14 perſons & carryed of three others. the perſons killed are John & Philip Stacy, Sons of Colo Wm Stacy from New Salem — Ezra Putnam Son of Major Ezra Putnam from Midletown in Maſsachusetts. John Camp from the Same place. Jonathan Farewell & one Couch & Patten from N Hamſhire Zebulon Troop from Barre. Wm James, from Connecticut Joſeph Clark from Rhode Island. a man by the name of Meeks with his wife & 2 children from Virginia. theſe ware

[1] This letter bears no endorsement; it was written by General Putnam, possibly to the Secretary of War or to the Hon. Fisher Ames. Consistent replies from them will be found on pages 249 and 250.

all killed in & at the Blockhouſe — Frances & Iſaac Choate from Leicester and one Shaw who kept at a hutt about 50 rod from the Blockhouſe, ware not found by the party who went out and it is hoped that they are priſoner. what number of Indians ware concerned in this miſchief or from what tribes we know not, but from thoſe Indians who till lately uſed to viſit our Settlements every day: withdrawing themſelves intirly from our Sight ever sence the expidition against the Shawones their is little reaſon to doubt but the Dellewares & Windots as well as othrs have had a hand in the buſneſs

it is impoſsable for me to give you a Just Idea of the diſtreſs into which this event has trown the inhabitants eſpecially thoſe of the out Settlements — for my own part I have for Sometime ben of the opinon that the Spring would open with a general attack on the frontier in which event I did not expect we Should eſcape unleſs Goverment Should timely Send Troops for our protection, which I was in hopes would be the caſe. but it Seems the enimy are ditermined to take advantage of our defenceleſs Situation and to wreak their vengence on the Inhabitants before any Succour can be had — I consider this event as a foreruner of other attacks of a more Serious nature & which may involve us in complet ruen, unleſs prevented by Goverment imediately takeing meaſures for our protection. to their protection I conceve we always had an Indupitable claim which claim, if poſsable, is increasd by the circumſtances that has brought us under the reſentment of the Indians and at lest in Some meaſure produced the Miſschief that we are fallen in into. in the first place we purchased our lands under an Idea that they had ben fairly obtained from the natives, for govermnt

told us So by their public acts. this however the Indians on our arrivel in the country told us was not true, and if the treaties made with them prior to our coming are conſulted I beleve it will appear the Indians are right — and that the lands ware rather wreſted then fairly purchased from them at lest the Indians conſidered it in this light — the Treaty made by Govenor S[t] Clair at Fort Harmer wares a Different face and by it the buſneſs Seems pritty well patched up & I had hope that we Should have had little or no trouble with them on that acc[t] not withſtanding that Some of their chiefs discovered that they ware not very well Satisfied — & that Several Chiefs among the tribes who treated with Govenor S[t] Clair ware not preſent and never conſented to what was don

GEN[L] KNOX LETTER

WAR-DEPARTMENT, Jany 27[th] 1791

Sir.

I have received your letter of the 8'th inſtant. I deplore the unhappy fate of the perſons who fell victims to ſavage barbarity on the 2'nd inſttant. — I ſincerely hope and believe that government will as ſoon as poſsible take effectual meaſures to prevent a repetition of indian depredations by making a powerful inroad into their country, and eſtablishing ſtrong poſts there.

Major Sargent will ſet out for Muskingum in a day or two who will be able to inform you generally of the impulſe of the public mind on the ſubject of the late expedition.

I am Sir,
with great reſpect,
Your moſt obd[t] Serv[t]

H KNOX

General RUFUS PUTNAM —

LETTER FROM M^R AMES

PHILAD^A Feb^y 22. 1791

Dear Sir

It was impoſsible to read your letter giving an acc^t of the attack of the Savages on the Settlement at Big Bottom without feeling a strong Sympathy with you under the peculiar distreſses of your Situation. However your fears may have interpreted the sense of the country tow^ds you, I am happy to perceive that they are not indisposed to giving you effectual protection, tho it will cost money. That circumstance too often throws cold water on the natural emotions of the public tow^ds their distreſsed brethren. I am happy to learn by Governor Sinclair that the last intelligence from Marietta &c left all quiet there Inured as you have been to war and danger, I think your late alarms must have exposed your fortitude to it's severest trials. I wish they may not be repeated. You know that my opinion of the proper policy of Congreſs is, to manifest a fixed resolution to protect the most remote parts of the union — to nurse the weak and to console the suffering remote settlements with a degree of tender solicitude proportioned to their defenceleſs condition — Congreſs has little occasion to make itself known to them except by acts of protection. The most succeſsful way to banish the ruinous idea of the future independency of the western country is, by doing good to the settlers, to gain their hearts. Our Sun will set when the Union shall be divided. But it is not neceſsary to notice the idea any further. The Meaſures of the present Seſsion of Congreſs, I think, will satisfy you that because you are remote you are not forgotten & will not be abandoned to the

Savages. I inclose a Letter to my old ſchoolfellow & townsman, Mr Battelle, will you please convey it to him —

Please to accept my sincere wishes for your health & prosperity —

I am, dear Sir, with respect &c
your very hble ſerv^{t}

FISHER AMES

Major General PUTNAM

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^{L} KNOX

MARIETTA March ye 8th 1791

Sir

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 27th of January last.[1] Soon after the afair at the Big Bottom Several Wyndot & Delleware men & women at different times came in to trade at this place. we treeted them with a little more caution, but in the Same frindly way as heretofore none of them, as they Said, had Seen the party who did the miſchif, except one who Said he met the party going in to Sandusky. that they consisted of about thirty; ware mostly Mingos & had 5 priſoners — a few days after theſe people left us a Soldier was taken within a few rods of Fort Harmer but had the good fortune to make his eſcape the first night and the next day to git into Belleprie the following night prehaps the Same Indians Visited a number of Deſerted houſes in that Settlement and kiled a Sheep & two hogs for Major Goodale about ten days ago one man was killed & another wounded on the Virginnia Side about 60 mile down the ohio all the Indians who have ben in to trade told us that there was a great many

[1] Page 249.

Indians going to War and that in a Short time we might expect a large body of them to attack this place but they would not own that the Wyndots and Dellawares had taken up the Hatchet: however this matter is now aſsertained —

on Saturday last John Miller arrived at our post up the Muskingum from Sandusky he is an Indian lad who came to this place with Gen[l] Varnum, and a very honest fellow. he went into the Indian Country last September or october with Doctor Burns or Burrell (as he called him ſelf while here) an Indian who has it Seems recived an Education in England or Scotland. the Substance of Millers account is this. that he found Burns to be a great Rogue that he had ben uſeing every means in his power to excite the Indins about Sandusky and the Tawa River to war and was now gon westward for the Same purpus that a number of Small partys were gon out already that a grate many Warriours from different tribes ware collected at Sandusky, that the Wyndots & Dellewars were going [?] for war and gave out that as Soon as the Water fell and Grass grew for their horſes they would go against the yankeys with two or three thousand men. that in ordor to Save his life and facilitate his eſcape he Joyned a War party of fourteen (formerly our perticuler acquaintanc) bound to the Muskingum Settlements that three days before he came in to our post being verry lame he was left to take care of their hevy lugage, that finding the way Clear he made a raft and came down the Muskingum — by this fortunate eſcape & information of honest John I think all uncertainty with reſpect the intentions of the Wyndots & Dellawares as well as the General views of the Savages is removed — our Inhabitants are nearly all Forted in which State we expect to remain till we are

dislodged by the Enimy — wich god forbid Should be the caſe or releved by the Troops of goverment which I pray god may be as Soon as poſiable

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^{L} KNOX

MARIETTA March 14th 1791

Sir

My last letter was of the 8th inſtent[1] on the morning of the 11th the Indians fired on two lads neer L^{t} Grays post (20 mile up the Muskingum) one of which is badly Wounded. 25 of the Enemy appeared in view & in an inſulting maner invited the people to come out and fight them — they killed 11 Cattle and drove off as many more — the Same morning two men ware fired on neer the post at Belleprie but they made their eſcape unhurt — yesterday evening as Capt Rogers & M^{r} Henderson (two perſons employed as Spyes for this Town) ware returning from a Tour in the woods about one mile from Campus Martius they ware fired on by two Indians — Rogers was killed and a Ball went through Hendersons Shirt and graized his groin. two other Indians fired on him as he run of and in his way in he met with four others but he happily made his eſcape from them all — we are takeing every meaſure in our power for a Vigerous defence but I fear our Cattle will be all killed or Driven off for we are too week to detach parties to oppoſe them out of our works eſpecially as we can never aſsertain their numbers; have all the Reaſon in the world to fear a Decoy and ambuſcade and the loſs of a Small party from any of our posts would expoſe the place to almost certain deſtruction. you will redily percive that our Situation with reſpect to carrying on our farming buſineſs is little better then if we

[1] Page 251.

ware cloſely Beſeaged nor can it be better till the goverment Shall releve us, which we flatter our Selves will be Soon, by Detachments puſhed forard for our Imediate protection till Such times as the general opperation of your army Shall take place

P S If in the eſtabliſhment for the army Chaplins are intended I beg leve to recommend M^r^ Daniel Story, now reſident with us, as a worthy Carractor, and very deſirous to make the Campaign

LETTER FROM THE SEC^Y^ OF WAR

WAR DEPARTMENT March 24, 1791

Sir

I have juſt received your eſteemed favor of the 8^h^ inſtant.[1]

The information contained in your letter ſtrongly indicates the hoſtile diſpoſition of the weſtern Indians, and the intrigues of bad men may make the war general.

The recent murder of ſome friendly Indians at the block houſe on Beaver Creek, is a circumſtance which merits rigid enquiry. Such actions tend to involve all things into confuſion and leaves nothing to be expected but a general Indian War — Major General S^t^ Clair who is charged with the cheif command upon the frontiers ſat out from this City yeſterday for Fort Pitt. But the roads being bad may prevent his arrival before this poſt —

He will inform you of the extenſive arrangements directed for the operations of the Campaign, and it

[1] Page 251.

is devoutly to be hoped they will be effectual and produce the deſired effect peace

I am Sir
with ſentiments of
great reſpect your
moſt Obedient
Servant

H KNOX.

RUFUS PUTNAM
one of the Judges of the territory of the U S
North West of the Ohio —

[FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR]

WAR DEPARTMENT,
7th April 1791

Sir,

Your letter of the 14th of last month [1] has been just received. — The accounts you give of the apprehenſions and dangers of the ſettlements, in the vicinity of Marietta, is justly alarming. —

If anything can be added to the efficacy of my letter of the 10th instant, authorizing Major Sargent to call forth as many of the militia for the defence of the ſettlements, as the occaſion might require; — Major General St Clair, who must be on the frontiers, has ample powers for the purpose —

The Levies and regular troops are raising but I do not believe many of them will be on the frontiers, until the beginning of the next month — any rein-

[1] Page 253.

forcements which you may require, must be derived from the Militia

I am, Sir,
With great Respect,
Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
H. KNOX
Sec^{y} of War

Judge RUFUS PUTNAM.

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^{L} KNOX

MARIETTA August 22^{d} 1791

Dear Sir

I embrace the preſent oppertunity to thank you for your letters of the 24th of March & 7th of April laſt:[1] & I alſo thank God that notwithſtanding we have had no aſsistance but from our own people till the midle of July, and the Indians in Small parties continually harraſsing of us, yet Sence the death of Cap^{t} Rogers we have lost but one man killed & one taken priſoner — we have lost a number of horſes and upwards of fifty head of Cattle. on our part we have killed one Indian whoſe body we recovered and have reaſon to beleve Some others were Killed or Wounded — we have collected most of our Engliſh grain without loſs & have a prospect of a Sufficient Crop of Corn for the Support of the inhabitants the coming year ——

I have the Honour to
be with every
poſiable Sentiment
of eſteem, Sir
your humb^{l} Sev^{t}
RUFUS PUTNAM

Gen^{l} KNOX

[1] Pages 254, 255.

FROM SECRETARY OF WAR

ANOUNCING MY APPOINTM^{T} OF BRIGADIER

WAR DEPARTMENT
May 5. 1792.

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate — has appointed you a Brigadier General.

You will please immediately to signify your acceptance or nonacceptance of this appointment.

In order that you may judge of the pay rations and emoluments for the commiſsioned and non-commiſsioned Officers and privates in the ſervice of the United States, I enclose you the act of Congreſs relative to the military establishment ——

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient ſervant
H KNOX
Sec^{y} of War

Brig Gen^{l} RUFUS PUTNAM

INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIGADIER GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM

Sir,

As you have at the request of the President of the United States, agreed to attempt to be present at the General Council of the hostile Indians about to be held on the Miami River of Lake Erie, in order to convince the said Indians of the humane dispositions of the United States, and thereby to make a truce or peace with them — it is proper, that you should receive all due information, and instructions, relatively to your miſsion —

You have herewith delivered to you,
First. A Copy of the treaty of Fort Stanwix made on the twenty second day of October 1784.
Secondly. A Copy of the treaty of Fort M^cIntosh made the 21. January 1785.
Thirdly. A Copy of the treaty with the Shawneſe, made at the Miami, in January 1786 —
Fourthly. And of the treaties with the Six Nations, and with the Wyandots &c. concluded at Fort Harmar on the 9^th^ of January 1789 —

These last mentioned treaties confirm nearly the bounds of the treaties made at Fort Stanwix in 1784, and Fort M^cIntosh in 1785.

And that there should be no mistake as to the boundaries claimed by the United States, by virtue of the said several treaties, you have herewith delivered to you a map, whereon the boundaries are clearly marked — You will observe, that there are several reservations to the United States, marked within the Indian lands — Information has been received, that the Indians consider those reservations with great uneaſineſs — If upon your bringing this subject to view at the Council, it should appear to be the case you may expreſs your opinion, that upon an ultimate adjustment of differences, the said reservations may be relinquished by the United States, excepting for those parts about the Fort at Detroit, which will be neceſsary for the Garrison.

The Chiefs of the five Nations of Indians, who were so long in this City, lately, were astonished at the moderation of our claim of land; it being very different from what they have been taught by designing people to believe —

It would seem that the Indians have been misled with respect to our claims, by a certain map pub-

lished in Connecticut, whereon are laid out ten new ſtates, agreeably to a report of a Committee of Congreſs.

The United States are desirous in any treaty which shall be formed in future, to avoid all causes of War relatively to Boundaries, by fixing the same in such a manner as not to be mistaken by the meanest capacity — As the basis therefore of your negociation, you will, *in the strongest and most explicit terms*, renounce on the part of the United States, all claims to any Indian land which shall not have been ceded by fair treaties, made with the Indian Nations.

That we conceive the treaty of Fort Harmar to have been formed by the tribes having a just right to make the same, and that it was done with their full understanding, and free consent.

That if however the said tribes should judge the compenſation to have been inadequate to the object, or that any other tribes have a just claim, in both cases they shall receive a liberal allowance on their finally settling all disputes upon the subject.

That with respect to the lands ceded or retained by the treaty with the Shawaneſe of the Miami of the Ohio, doubts are entertained of any rights poſſeſſed by the said Shawaneſe, excepting those of ſufferance by the tribes who juſtly claim the same — But, if the rights to the Shawaneſe should be conceded by the other neighbouring tribes who should think proper to confirm the boundaries marked for the said Shawaneſe, the United States will abide thereby.

As the United States have never made any treaties with the Wabash Indians, although the said Indians have been repeatedly invited thereto, their Claims to the lands East and South of the said Wabash, have not been defined.

This circumstance will be a subject of your inquiry with the aſsembled Indian tribes, and you may aſsure the parties concerned that an equitable boundary shall be arranged with them.

You will make it clearly understood that we want not a foot of their land, and that it is theirs, and theirs only — That they have the right to sell, and the right to refuse to sell, and that the United States will guarantee to them their said just rights

That all we require of the Indians is a peaceable demeanor, that they neither plunder the frontiers of their horses, or murder the Inhabitants. That the United States are bound to protect the Inhabitants, at the risque of every inconvenience of Men and Money.

You will represent to them, that a new ſtate of things has taken place in the United States — that formerly we were an aſsociation of several separate states, like their several separate tribes, and that there was no portion of Union and Strength sufficient to regulate the several parts, as belonging to the same machine

But, that now we have a general goverment embracing all parts of the Union, as it respects foreign Nations and Indian tribes.

That General Washington is placed at the head of this Government, and that he or some person immediately authorized by him, must make all treaties with the Indian tribes.

That therefore, in future, all the Indian Nations may rest with great confidence upon the justice, the humanity, and the liberality, of the United States.

That it is not only the sincere desire of the United States to be at peace with all the neighbouring Indian tribes, but to protect them in their just rights against lawleſs, violent, white people: if such should commit any injury on the persons or properties of a peaceable

Indian, they will be regarded equally as the Enemies of the General Government, as the Indians, and will be punished accordingly.

Let the Indians at the said Council know fully, That the United States are friends with the Creeks to whom we give fifteen hundred dollars annually — With the Cherokees (excepting a few Outcasts who have been leagued with the Shawanese) to whom we also give fifteen hundred dollars annually — That we have treaties of peace with the Choctaws and Chickasaws — to whom we shall probably aſsign an annual allowance as they have proved themselves our friends —

That we also have lately allowed the five Nations, to wit, the Senekas, Cayugas, Oneidas including the Stockbridge tribe — Onondagas, and Tuscororas, the Sum of Fifteen hundred dollars annually.

That the United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indians tribes, the bleſsings of civilization, as the only mean of perpetuating them on the earth.

That we are willing to be at the expence of teaching them to read and write, to plough and to sow, in order to raise their own bread and meat with certainty, as the white people do.

In short, that the United States willing to believe that the conduct of the hostile Indians hitherto, has been more the effect of misrepresentation of bad people, than any hardened malignity of the human heart, are desirous of forgetting and burying deep forever, all the evils which have past, and to administer such good things to the said Indians, as will make them rejoice for ever, at the annual return of the day on which they may conclude a treaty with the United States.

You will inform the hostile Indians, that these sentiments are not the offspring of the defeat of the

fourth of November last, but that they arise from the purest desire to avoid the further effusion of blood.

That our dispositions for peace are not the consequence of any apprehensions of the iſsue of the War may be made apparent to the Indians by a comparison of the *strength and resources* of the United States and the Indians.

That we entertained these dispositions for peace early in the last year and attempted to send various meſsengers accordingly but who were prevented by unforeseen circumstances.

The Senekas who Colonel Procter persuaded to accompany him to the Miami Village will be a good Witneſs to the truth of this as will be Captain Hendrick the Chief of the Stockbridge Indians who also made considerable progreſs in his journey but was stopped at the Grand River North of Lake Erie

Two persons were engaged in January last to repair to the Miami Village, and actually proceeded as far as Niagara where they were stopped their buſineſs not being known.

February the tenth General Wilkinson was directed as you will particularly observe by the extract of my letter herewith delivered to intimate by himself and Major Hamtramck our desire for peace.[1]

Doctor Brown was chosen to repair to the Miami Village for this purpose, and it is probable that he is on his miſsion accordingly

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel James Wilkinson, commandant at Fort Washington (Cincinnati), and Major John Hamtramck, commandant at Fort Knox (Vincennes), were ordered to send Indian and French messengers to the hostile Indians to impress upon them that the desire of the United States was not for their lands, but for peace. The Indians were urged to send representatives to a council at Fort Washington as proof of their friendly disposition, and were threatened with force if they should fail to comply. Similar messages were sent by way of the Lakes.

Major Hamtramck in his letter of the 31. March a copy of which you have delivered you, ſtates that besides making peace with the Wea and Eel River Indians he has dispatched Agents to most of the hoſtile Indians West of the Wabash and Omie Rivers[1]

You have also herewith delivered you copies of the inſtructions to Major Trueman and the speech with which he was charged to the hoſtile Indians dated the 3d of April.[2] Every thing which can be effected by an ardent zeal may be expected from the Majors Miſsion, and you will please to confide in and employ him in your buſineſs agreeably to my letter to him herewith delivered to you — The Chiefs of the five nations, who were lately in this City, have agreed to repair to the General Council about being held — they departed this City apparently well impreſsed with the justice and humanity of the United States and stipulated to use their highest exertions to effect a peace —

Colonel Louis of the Cagnawagnas also came here to inform the Government that the seven castles so called in Canada had been invited to the Council to be held at the Miami River of Lake Erie — He being also convinced of the justice of the United States promised to use his influence towards a peace.

Captain Hendrick Aupaumut chief of the Stock-

[1] In March, before receiving his instructions to send out peace messengers, Major Hamtramck had formally agreed with the Eel River and Wea Chiefs that as they desired peace, a treaty should be held at Vincennes; that their lands should be confirmed to them by the United States; and that on their part they should cease all depredations, and share their knowledge of any hostile designs of other Indians against the United States.

[2] In April, Captain Alexander Trueman was sent via Pittsburgh and Fort Washington to carry a speech from the President to the Miami Village, at the head of the Omie (Maumee) River. In this speech the Indians were urged to cease hostilities, and to send some of their principal chiefs to a peace conference at Philadelphia.

bridge Indians and his Brother have also gone specially charged to prepare the way for your reception and to meet you at Fort Jefferson;[1] his instructions you have also delivered to you.

The recital of these several measures are made, in order to show you that the busineſs is in a considerable degree matured.

I have written to M^r^ John Heckewelder of Bethlehem to accompany you, which he has promised to do; but he cannot set out from Bethlehem until the 25^th^ instant, but he will probably overtake you at Pittsburg or Marietta. This person superintended one of the Moravian Towns in the Muskingum, and has a general acquaintance with and influence over the Wyandots and Delawares.

Much good may be expected from the agreement made by Major Hamtramck with the Wabash Indians — It is hoped that it will be an happy introduction to a general peace — their influence and agency may be expected with the other Indians and you may obtain from them escorts and meſsengers to the hostile Indians

You have herewith delivered to you an invoice of Indian Goods at Fort Washington and an order for the same. These goods or part thereof may be presented to the Wabash Indians who have agreed with Major Hamtramck provided it should be the joint judgment of Brig^r^ Gen^l^ Wilkinſon and yourself but under such restrictions as to preclude all abuses.

Besides these goods you have delivered to you, twenty setts of silver ornaments for such of the principal chiefs as shall come to a pacific agreement, and also nose and ear jewels.

Besides the above a further provision of Goods

[1] Fort Jefferson was about sixty-seven miles north of Fort Washington, on St. Clair's route to the Miami village.

will be made immediately and forwarded to Fort Pitt to a considerable amount the disposition of which will be hereafter directed.

Your first great object upon meeting the Indians will be to convince them that the United States require none of their lands.

The Second. That we shall guarantee all that remains and take the Indians under our protection

Thirdly. They must agree to a truce and immediately call in all their War parties — it will be in vain to be negociating with them while they shall be murdering the frontier citizens.

Having happily effected a truce founded on the above aſsurances, it will be then your primary endeavour to obtain from each of the hostile and neighbouring tribes, two of the most respectable Chiefs to repair to the seat of the Government and there conclude a treaty with the President of the United States in which all causes of difference should be buried forever

You will give the chiefs every aſsurance of personal protection while on their journey to Philadelphia, and should they insist upon it Hostages of Officers for the safe return of the chiefs, and in case of their compliance you will take every precaution by the troops for their protection of the said chiefs which the nature of the case may require

But if after having used your utmost exertions the chiefs should decline the journey to Philadelphia, then you will agree with them on a place for a general treaty.

In considering upon this place — perhaps Pittsburgh or its vicinity would be as proper a place as could be decided upon — Proviſions could be procured in abundance and it would be the point to which the goods could be easily transported.

In this event it will be neceſsary that I should be informed by the earliest opportunity in order that the principles of, and arrangements for the treaty should be fixed

It will also be of the highest importance that you keep General Wayne constantly informed of your progreſs and prospects as his movements will be governed by your information —

As it may be neceſsary for you to conciliate some chiefs by money and also to obtain runners, you have delivered you a warrant on the treasurer for one thousand dollars for which you will be held accountable.

Of all your disbursements either of money or goods, you will keep fair accounts supported by vouchers in all poſsible cases, or of witneſses as evidences of the delivery of Goods.

As this will be considered as an extra service from your military employment, your expences will be paid by the publick, and if you succeed in effecting a peace you are hereby promised in behalf of the United States an handſome pecuniary reward.

In case any accident should happen to you while employed on this miſsion you may rest aſsured the Government will make a suitable provision for your family.

It has been conceived, that were you to repair to Fort Washington and thence to Fort Jefferson that you would more readily than from any other point find a communication with the hostile Indians — upon your nearer approach you will form your own judgment and take your own measures — Having given you a view of the objects and the train in which things are, the rest must be left entirely to your discretion —

But I cannot close these instructions without urging to you the highest poſsible exertions in bringing the War to a cloſe and of deviſing every proper mean for that purpose — An Indian war is destructive to the interests of humanity and an event from which neither dignity or profit can be reaped. It has been imposed on the Government by strong causes which it could not controul or prevent and the sooner it is terminated the better — You may be aſsured that all the stipulation of rewards you make shall be fully complied with and they ought to be liberal —

On your arrival at Fort Washington, all the Women & Children belonging to those tribes with whom Major Hamtramck has made peace are to be well clad and released from their captivity — The women to have some of the silver ornaments presented to them.

Enclosed you have a letter to Brigadier General Wilkinson on the subject of the release of the above described prisoners.

These instructions are given by the authority of the President of the United States and are to be regarded accordingly.

Given at the War Office of the United States this twenty ſecond day of May 1792 —

H KNOX
Sec^{y} of War

COPY OF A LETTER TO GENERAL KNOX

PITTSBURGH June 5th 1792

Sir

I arrived at this place the 2^{d} inſtent in the morning, and in the afternoon Capt Jeffers arrived from a Scout, whoſe report I herewith encloſe — Takeing into consideration the circumſtances relative to the

two Munsey Indians, brought in by Capt Jeffers, perticulerly that they had never ben confined, nor disarmed, and that the principle Warriours of the Sennakas, who was with M^r Jeffers on this Servis, ware very deſierous they Should be Set at liberty, I concived it best to comply with their wiſhes; And beſides I thought it might promote the buſines I am on to Send a Speech by them to the hostile nations, and accordingly I made the propoſition to them: they deſiered to conſult two of the principle Senakas who had ben out with M^r Jeffers — theſe warriours returned for anſwer that they might cary my Speech to Capt Snake or Some other principle man among the Munſies, who would no doubt Send it to the more hostile tribes but that theſe men haveing ben present when the two Dellawares ware Killed it would not be Safe for them to carry it to the other tribes — on the whole althoe this conveyance appeared rather doubtfull, yet conſidering the uncertainty of Major Trumans Succeſs, and alſo that of Capt Hendricks, and that northing might be left undon that had a tendency to induce the hostile Indians to give me a hearing I have framed a Speech for the purpos (a Copy of which is herewith encloſed[1]) and I expect theſe Indians will Set out tomorrow on their Journey.

Mr Heckenwelder arrived here the third inſtent, and I expect to leve this the day after tomorrow —

I hear there has ben a plan on foot among the Militia of Waſhington and Some other Countys to make an attack on the Sanduskey Towns. I beleve their is no great danger of their puting the Scheme in execution. however I would Suggest the propriety of reſtraining all ofenſive opperations on our part, for

[1] Page 269.

the preſent. the propriety of this meaſure appears to me So Just that did I not expect General Wain to arrive at this place Soon or that Such ordors would Soon Issue from the War [Department] to the Militia in this quarter, I should have wrote to the Lieutenants of the Countys on the Subject; for while Some Meſengers and Negotiators are gon, and others going into the Indian Country; Should any Stroke be made on their towns it is more then probable that goverment would be wholly frustrated in their purpoſes of accommodation, and every perſon within the power of the enemy would fall a Sacrefise —

I have the honour to be
Sir your most obedient
humble Servant
R PUTNAM

Gen. KNOX Secretary
at War —

COPY OF SPEECH TO THE INDIANS

Speech of Brigadier General Rufus Putnam, Commiſioner Appointed by the Great Chief General Waſhington & his Council, viz the Congreſs of the United States —

To all the Sachems and Warriours of the tribes inhabiting the Miami or Tawa River, and the waters of the Wabaſh River: the Wyandots, Delawares Chippawas, Ottawas, Pattiwatamas, Shawones, Tweetwees and all other Indian Nations reſideing Southward of the Lakes, East of the Miſſisippi and Northward of the River Ohio —

Brothers

The Great Councill of the United States haveing Taken into conſideration the preſent Troubles ſub-

sisting between them and their Brothers of different Indian Tribes, have reaſon to beleve, in Some meaſure, that theſe Troubles have ariſen from Miſunderſtanding between the parties concerned, and being deſierous to remove every Just ground of Complaint The Great Chief, General Waſhington more then two Moons past Sent a Speech to you by Capt Truman on the *Subject of peace*— And Capt Hendrick, a Cheif of the Stockbridge Tribe has alſo ben dispatched to inform you of the frindly Disposition of the preſident and all the Great Councill of the United States toward all Indian Tribes — —

Brothers

Theſe and other meaſures of the like nature have ben taken preparitory to my arrivel on our Frontier Settlements, who am appointed by Gen[l] Waſhington in behalf of the Great Council, to enquire into all your Grievances and to treat with you on the puerest principle of Justice and humanity —

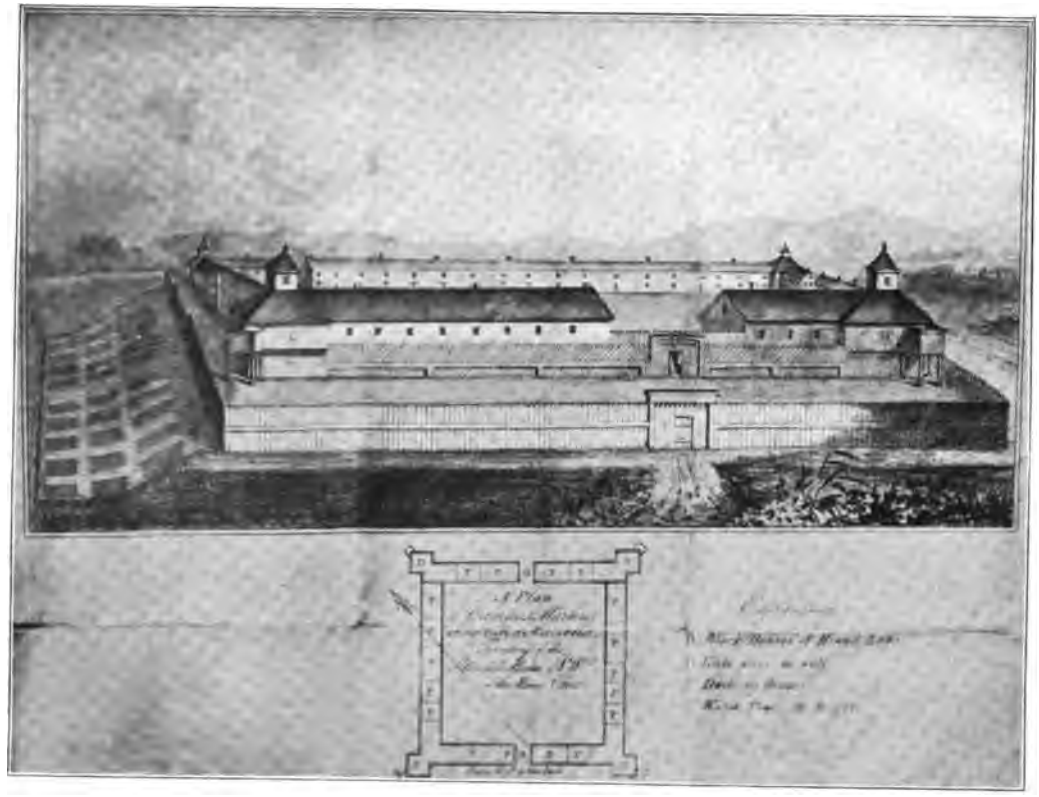
Brothers

I have weighty matters to communicate to you and do not doubt but when we Shall meet togather and have heard one another, your hearts will rejoice and we Shall unite in Frindſhip and love

a String of 3 Branches

Brothers

All the Roads between you and us have ben Shut for Some time past. I now request you to open the path that leads to Fort Jefferson (the neerest of our Forts to the Miami Towns) That you and I may be able to meet one another and enter on this Great work. I expect to be their my Self in about twenty days and request that you will Send Some of your men with Capt Hendrick to conduct me with a few



THE OHIO COMPANY'S FORT AT MARIETTA, 1788

frinds to the place you Shall fix on for our meeting — your Meſsengers may approch Fort Jefferson without fear, as meaſures are already taken to prevent any injury being don to them.

a String of 2 Branches

Brothers

You have heard what I have to Say at preſent. fill your pipes with this (Tobacco) when you deliberate on this my Speech, and above all let the Great and good Spirit above guide you in your Councils and you will find that you will be bleſsed with peace and hapineſs —

a roll of Tobacco

PITTSBURGH, June 5th
1792

RUFUS PUTNAM B G &c &c
Commiſsioner for
Treating with the
Indian Nations in
behalf of the United
Stats

LETTER TO GENL WAYNE

MARIETTA June 23d 1792

Dear General

I herewith encloſe you a Statement of the diſpoſition of the Troops Stationed at Marietta Belleprie and Waterford with a Short deſcription of the Local Situation of the Several Stations reletive to each other — I beg leve further to remark, that theſe Settlement being more then one hundred miles from any other Settlemets that can afford them releaf, are exceedingly expoſed to the Depredations of the Enimy, and as I concive they have a Claim, So I have no doubt they will have your attention —

the Station at Waterford is more exposed then any of the others: I concive it a proper place to be occupied by a confiderable force, for befids preventing the deftruction of between twenty & thirty familis, if a Company or two of Rifle men ware Stationed there, to Scout up the Muskingum River and toward the Hockhocking they would be a very great protection to the Inhabitants of, Ohio and Wafhington Countys as well as to the inhabitant in this quartr on Both Sids of the ohio River —

I leve this place the 25th for Fort Wafhington

I have the Honor Sir

COPY OF LETTER TO GENL WILKENSON

FORT WASHINGTON July 3d 1792

Sir

I prefume the Secretary at War has informed you that my prefent bufinefs in this Quarter, is to indevor to bring about a Treaty with the hostile Tribes of Indians. In ordor fir, that I may act underftandingly and the p[l]ans of Goverment appear Uniform it is neceſsary that I Should know what meafures has ben taken by you relative the premifes, more efpecially Sence your receipt of Genl Knoxs letter of the 11th of February last I therefore request to be informed the Speeches you have Sent to the Indians, the information you have recived from or concerning them, and ordors given to the officer commanding at Fort Jefferfon & other out post relative to the approch of Flags or Mefsengers —

In my inftructions from the Secretary at War is the following — viz " you have herewith Delivered to " you an invoice of Indian Goods at Fort Wafhington, " and an ordor for the Same These goods or part " thereof may be prefented to the Wabafh Indians

"who have agreed with Major Hamtramok provided "it Should be the Joint Judgment Brigadier Gen[l] "Wilkenſon and your ſelf, but under ſuch reſtrictions "as to preclude all abuſes" (again) "on your arri- "vel at Fort Waſhington all the Women and Chil- "dren belonging to thoſe tribes with whome Major "Hamtramok has made peace are to be well clad "and releaſed from their Captivity — the women to "have Some of the Silver ornaments preſented to "them.

to this Extract from Inſtruct of the Secretary at War I wiſh we may attend as Soon as poſiable; For every other matter relative to the proſecution of the object I am Sent on I ſhall with pleaſure recive your opinion and advice, and Should we be So unfortunate as not to effect a peace, yet I have no doubt but ſuch evidence will be given of our United effort to accompliſh the wiſhes of goverment on this head as will afford a pleaſing reflection in our own minds and convince the Nation of the Neceſsity of proſecuting the War with vigour

COPY OF LETTER TO GEN[L] KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON July 5[th] 1792

Sir

My last letter was from Marietta June 23[d]. I was not able to leve that place untill the 26[th] I halted one day at Galipolis and arrived here on the 2[d] Inſtent at 8, oClock in the morning; Soon after my arrivel Gen[l] Wilkinson returned from a Tour to Fort Jefferson with the Disagreable News that on the 25[th] ult about 100 Indians made an attack [on] a party of men Cuting hay neer Fort Jefferson that 16 of our people ware Killed and Miſing, that four Dead bodies only had ben found on whome was marks [of] the

greatest emity & cruelty practised. a War Club alſo with a very extreordinary Spike in the head of it that the Indians had three horses with them. one man was dreſsed in a Scarlet Suite and the whole (or at lest a great part) appeared in white Shirts — Gen[l] Wilkinson further informs me that on his arrivel at the post he Sent out parties to trace the Enimys back track or way they came as well as the rout they went off, and that they both came from and returned toward the lower part, or rapids, of the Tawa River[1] — on the third inſtent arrived M[r] Vego[2] & two other Gentlemen from fort Knox who inform that on the 20[th] ult Some Weya Cheifs Sent by Majr Hamtramack to Eel river returned with News that four men going from Some of our Forts with a Flag had ben Fired on by a party of Indians three of the men ware killed, the man with the Flag and papers was taken, that after keeping him one day they killed him alſo. that the Indians took the papers to Some white man who could read and that they contained a long and good Talk from a Great Cheif which when the Indians underſtood they ware Sorry for what they had don. — if this acc[t] be true their is little reaſon to doubt but Col[o] Hardy and Major Truman have fallen a Sacrefise and that Soon after they left Fort Waſhington as it was intended that they Should not Travel far together — and their is alſo Some circumſtances in the late affair neer Fort Jefferson which if attended to I think renders the arrivel of Capt Hendrick at that post for the purpose expected very doubtfull. the number of Indians in that party, indicates that they had in view an object of conſiderable conſequence. their dreſs was uncommon and Shews

[1] The Maumee River.

[2] Francis Vigo, a prominent citizen of Vincennes.

they had ben very lately & very generally furniſhed with new Shirts by the Britiſh Superintendent. indeed their war parties I beleve Seldom ware any Shirts while Neer or Seeking their enemy — the Haymakers could not be their oreginal object for that buſineſs had commenced but 5 days before and therefore could not be known to them when they Set out on the Expidition provided they came from the mouth of the Tawa River as is apprehended another circumſtance is that they made the attack on the mowers the very day (or at most but one day after the time) I had appointed to be at Fort Jefferson, as notified to the Indians in my Speech Sent them from Pittsburgh dated the 5th of June and which I have no doubt reached the Grand Councill on the Tawa River Sufficiently early to have a war party march from thence to Fort Jefferson before the time the attack was made. from all theſe circumſtances I concive their [is] great reason to beleve that my ſelf was the oreginal object of that expidition, and if So and that it was undertaken by General conſent of the aſsembled Chiefs, I think there is little reaſon to expect or beleve they are at preſent inclined to treat of peace. but prehaps theſe conjecturs are all wrong or that if I was the object, yet the party came out through the influenc of the Superintendent or Some Britiſh emmiſary with out the conſent, and prehaps without the knowledge, of the Chiefs in general if this Should be the caſe Hendreck may Soon arrive with tiding more agreable, then preſent circumſtancs Seeme to warrant reaſonable expectation of —

With Mr Vego came Weya men whoſe relations are priſonrs here, and alſo an Indian by the name of Billa who went out on the expidition with Genl St Clair was in the action was wounded & taken priſ-

oner by the Enimy and Soon after made his eſcape — an Interpreter is Sent for to Kentucke when he arrives I Shall be able to Speek with theſe people and not before. from Major Hamtramck letter and the information of Mr Vego and others, the real intentions of the Weya & Eel River Indian appear to me very Doubtfull. to get back their priſonrs in the opinion of the Gentlemen from Vincennes is the principle object with them; but whatever their intentions may be I think meaſures Should be taken to compleat a treety with them agreably to the Stipulations made with them by Major Hamtramack. for however Deſirable an object it may be to bring them to Philadelphia, I beleve it altogather impraticable. I am informed that they object Strongly against the proposition made to them by Major Hamtramak of coming to Fort Waſhington. they Say it is too far and they ware promised a treaty at Fort Knox —

It is my opinion that a perſon be authorized to hold a Treaty with them at Fort Knox & Compleat the buſneſs as far as poſiable agreably to the articls Stipulate[d] with Hamtramack that Some goods be given them as an Evidence of the ability and disposition of Goverment to Serve them that the Boundarie of their lands be defined but no propoſition of purchaſe be made at preſent that Goverment haveing by her Justice and a few acts of liberalety (which will cost little) gained their confidence their Chiefs may afterward be willing (& probably deſierous) to make a Journey to the Seat of Goverment, that they will offer their lands for Sale before the united States will have any ocation for them — that begining in this way with the Tribs neerest to Vencenneeſs their is no doubt but others will Soon follow their example and if by this meens the tribes west

of the Wabaſh can be detached from the more hostile Nations a point of very conſiderable conſequence will be gained (the perſon to be appointed on this Mission Should be one well disposed toward the Indians & against whome they entertain no perticuler prejudice & it would be better Still if one can be found with whom they are acquaint & for whom they have a perticulr Kindneſs)

But to return among the more Hostile tribes I do not yet dispair of Succeſs for althoe I have no doubt but many of the Shawones and others at preſent Shut their ears against and reject every Idea of peace, that they have murdered Major Truman and prehaps every other white man that has ben Sent with Meſsages of Peace, and that it was a party of theſe fellows (countenanced and encouraged by preſents from Some British agent) that came to Fort Jefferson with a view to take me off yet I much doubt if theſe meaſures are Countenanced by the Chiefs in general. I rather beleve they are the work of a few who by Such means expect to distract the Councils of the more moderate and prevent a Treaties takeing place while a great Majorety are wiſhing for Such an event — the Same acc^{t} that gives us reaſon to beleve that Truman & other Meſsengrs are murdered, informs us that the Preſidents Speech was preſerved, Interpreted & conſidered a good one and that they ware Sorry for what they had don. if the Deſigne of the party who came to Fort Jefferson was to murder me that circumſtance alſo proves that my Speech had reached the Tawa River (and that it has reached the Grand Council I have not the least dout, for I conſider the mode of conveyance as certain & Sure) add to this the influence of Hendrick with the Deputys from the Six nations C— [?] Le— [?] and ye Seven

Castles in Cannada (when they arrive) will have, and I think their is conſiderable reaſon to hope the Nations in general will yet conſent to treat of peace —

LETTER FROM B G WILKINSON

FORT WASHINGTON
July 5th 1792

Sir

Altho the free & full verbal communications, which succeeded your addreſs to me of the 3rd Inst.[1] which you did me the honor to put into my hand, supercede the neceſsity of a written reply, yet it may be a matter of propriety to our respective stations, that I should thus acknowledge the Receipt of that Letter, & at the same time aſsure you, that you will find in me, not only a ready but a zealous cooperation, in whatever may tend to the prosecution of the Objects, of the very important miſsion confided to you by the supreme executive, and in every other instance which may Interest the public good. —

Nothwithstanding, the very systematic outrage, recently commited in the vicinity of Fort Jefferson, and a variety of concuring circumstances, bespeak the sanguinary disposition of the Enemy, & their inveterate animosity, yet my anxiety to carry into complete effect, the Views & prescriptions of the President, induced me on leaving Fort Jefferson the 29th Ultmo, to instruct Major Smith the Commandant, agreably to the following extract "Notwithstanding the re-" "cent outrage of the Enemy, you are to persevere" "in the plan of defensive measures, and are to re-" "ceive & to treat with due respect any flag which" "may present; thǫ improbable, it is poſsible the late" "hostility may have been perpetrated by some Party"

[1] Page 272.

"not apprized of the Pacific overtures now pend-"
"ing" —

Availing myself of the permiſsion, which you have given me, to offer you my opinion & advice, I will take the Liberty to suggest; that, as the original arrangements which I had taken on the subject will not only secure proper treatment to any Flag which may present to our out Posts, but that the communication of such circumstance will be announced here from the most distant in thirty Six Hours after it may occur; I think your Personal attendance, at Fort Jefferson, previous to the arrival of any deputation from the Enemy, cannot be Interesting to the Public, & will expose you, pent up as you must be in a crowded Garrison, to great incommodation — You moreover Sir know perfectly well how to estimate, after what has happened, the probability of such an arrival at that Post —

In carrying my views forward to the probable result of the pacific overtures now pending, I must confeſs to you, I am induced to believe, that Ft. Vincennes under existing circumstances presents, as the most elegible point for negotiation, and opens to us a prospect of advantages, which may, in my humble Judgment, if seasonably attended to, be pushed to great extent & with great Effect; on this Subject, I shall at all times be ready to enlarge, and I cannot close this Letter without testifying to you, the Heart-felt-pleasure, I derive from the coincidance of Sentiment manifested in the conferences we have held — Believe me with all due respect for your superior age & experience, and with unfeigned Personal regard,

Your Obedient, ready
& very H^ble^ Servant
JA: WILKINSON

Brig^r^ General PUTNAM

COPY OF LETTER TO GENERAL KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON July 8th — 1792

Sir

My letter to you of the fifth inſtent[1] I gave into the hand of Mr Vego at this place who is gon down to the Rapids with an intent to proceed imediately for Philadelphia by the way of Lexington where I expect this letter will be put into his hands —

The more I reflect on the Subject, the more I am convinced, that it will be best to proceed with the Indians on the Wabash &c &c in the maner I have hinted in my letter above refered to and as far as poſiable detach them from the councils & Influenc of the other Indians but I think it will not be neceſsary and prehaps not proper to Stipulate an annual allowance of goods to the Wabaſh Indians untill a purchas of lands be made which I concive ought not to be proposed to them untill the contest with the Shawone and other hostile nations is diterminded — for this is the argument made uſe of by our Enimies (and the only one that would prevail on the Cheppaws & many other tribes to Joyn in the War) and which is continually urged on the Western Indians to Joyne in the confederaſie: viz the Americans are after your lands they mean to take them from you and to drive you out of the country: I am informed from good authorety that when the Dellawars Wyandot and Shawones first invited the Chippawas & other tribs to Joyne them in the War, they anſwered "for why "Should we go to war we have no quarel with the "Americans when our Farther (meaning the King of "Great Brittain) was at war and called on us to Joyne "him against a Set of rebelious Children we did So.

[1] Page 273.

"but our Father had now made peace with his Chil-
"dren and their is now no reaſon why we Should go
"to war against them. it will be enough for them
"[us] to go to war against the Americans when our
"father calls on us again — but you Said the Chip-
"pawas are always quareling with your neighbors

To this the Dellawars & Wyandots replyed that "the thirteen fires ware endevoring to take their lands "from them, that they challenged the whole country "as their own, that they (the thirteen fires) had "marked out to them a Small tract for hunting "ground on which they could not live. well Sais the "Chippawas, what is that to us they have not med-"dled with our lands and why Should we fight for "your land you must fight your Selves for them and "defend your Country their is reaſon you Should, "but we Shall get northing by it if we joyn in the "war. its better therefore that we mind our own buſi-"neſs and live in peace —

To this the Dellawars &c could find no anſwer untill a British emmeſary whispered in their ear "Tell "them that when the Americans have conquored you "& got poſession of your country; they will then "take theirs alſo for that is their intention and they "will never rest untill they have got the whol." "ah, "Replyed the others, is that the caſe then we will fight "too and imediately again took the Tomhawk from the Dellawars Wyandots & Shawones who first moved in the buſines — I have ben the more perticuler in relateing this anecdote (which is a fact that may be relied on) becauſe it clearly Shows the reaſon why So many Nations are drawn into the War against us that it must be Somthing more then mear Britiſh influence, may be clearly argued from their being a greater number engaged in the preſent contest then the Brit-

ish Govermt with all their arts ware able to perſuaid to take up the hatchet in the western quarter during the late war, & what can be their motive but the fear of looſeing their lands, or in other words that the Americans intend to take their lands from them when ever they Shall think proper without their conſent, agreably to the Doctrine of the Treaties at Fort Macintoſh and the Big Mami [Miami] it is therefore in my opinion [?] indispensably neſsry to convince the Western Indians as *Soon as poſiable* that theſe Suggestions are falſe and Sence they will not agree to com to Philadelphia, or even Fort Waſhington the[y] Should be treated with at Vincennes as Soon as poſiable

in confidence that a Commiſion will Soon arrive impowering Major Hamtramack [or] Some other perſon to hold a Treety at Vincenes agreably to the Stipulations he has made with thoſe Indians a part of the Indian Goods here will be forwarded with the priſoners to Vincennes

yesterday a Canoe going up the Ohio to Columbia at two mile distenc from this place ware attacked. one man killed one wounded a Boy taken priſoner— a woman made eſcape unhurt

this is another discourageing circumſtance with reſpect to my hereing from Hendrick in the way expected, and with Some a concluſive evidence that the grand council is brook up with a diterminat[ion] of Continuing the War. but I doubt this for their has ben Scarcely time Sence the Chiefs of the Six Nations left Philadelphia for them first to report to the council that was to meet at Buffaloe and then for the Deputies to come forard to Tawa River, and I do not beleve that under all circumſtances the grand Council at the Tawa would deſide on the buſineſs and brake

up before the Deputies from the Seven Caſtles and the Six Nations had had an oppertunity to Speak their Sentiments — I am ditermined to Send another Speech to the Beligerent tribes if I can perſuade any of the Wabaſh Indian here to carry it — I have Several reaſons for makeing this attempt. First if Some Bad men have murdered our Meſsenge[rs] who ware carrying the preſidents Speech — althoe the Speech may be carried to the Council, they may conſider it as not properly coming before them, and the Chiefs may be in doubt whether we will now receve a Meſsage from them or not the arrivel of a new Speech I think will remove this doubt althoe I mention northing of the rumour I have heard beſides by a Meſsage of this Sort I expect to aſsertain the fact whether our Meſsengers are murdered or not and alſo to reduce the matter to a Certainty whether they will let me Speak with them or not. I propose to remain here for the preſent as it is uncertain whether any Flag will arrive from the enimy or at what post they may come in, and Should Hendrick arrive at Fort Jefferson as proposed, I Shall have notice in 36 hours — —

But Suppoſe that after all rational means is uſed to accommodate this buſineſs by treety we fail in the attempt and that a continuance of the war is inevitable. pardon me Sir if unasked I offer Some Sentiments on the Subject. M[r] Hutchens and others have Said a great deal about the good Navigation of the Alleghena River & French Creek, the Big Bever, the Cayahoga, & Muskingum, the Hockhocking, Sioto, & Sanduskey, the Wabaſh & Tawa or Miami of the lake, and it is true that they are all very fine Rivers and at certain Seaſons many of them afford plenty of water to float Craft of very conſiderable burden for a great Distance. but the fact is that not one of them

will Serve any Valuable purpus for transporting by water the Bagage Stores & proviſion of an army for any conſiderable distance, toward any object where govermt can poſsiably mean to point their force in any offencive opperation. even the Ohio at Some Seaſons is defecult if not quite impaſsable at Some parts. therefore all conſiderable movements of an army between the Ohio and lake Erie Should be calculated to be by land — (you will permit me to Speak freely I know you will not be ofended, becauſe my intention is good and I write with the utmost defference) to eſtabliſh a Capital post at the Miami Village with a proper Number of intermediate Stations ſufficient to Secure a communication from Fort Waſhington to that place is undoubtedly an object to be perſeveared in, and I think if the buſinef is conducted in a prudent maner may be effected with two thouſand men without any hazard of conſiderable loſs. but to Stop here will by no means induce the Indians to treat. it will be rather provokeing then distreſsing to them, nor will the Territory [?] recive any conſiderable protection thereby. My opinion is not to advance any farther in this quarter at preſent, but to make arrangement for carr[y]ing a line of Stations from the mouth of the big bever on the Ohio by way of the Salt Spring to the mouth of Cuyahoga on lake Erie where I would build a Strong Post which a gariſon of 200 men would be able to defend against all the Indians in the world. here I would build Such Water Craft as Should be thought neceſsry to transport the army I intended to make uſe of this way into the mouth of the Tawa River as far as the rapid 14 mile up or to Such place as Should be found most convenant for Eſtabliſhing a post their (for I will paun my reputation upon it, if from the

overturs now makeing the Indians are not brought to a treaty they never will untill you eſtablish a post in the mouth of the Tawa river and prevent the British agent with his Emiſaris and Indians Counceling their togather, or in the Indian language put out their Council Fire in that place) this is the place where every year the British agent distributes the annual preſents to all the Nations far and neer inhabiting the Country South of Lake Erie and Westward beyond the Miami villags while the army are Building the fort at Cuyahoga and preparing their Water Craft the weſtern army Should proceed with caution & erecting Stations advance toward the Miamy Villags and Eſtabliſh them Selvs there the Indians Seeing two armys advan[cin]g in different directions will probably be deſtratd in their Councils, they would probably conſider the Country of Wyandots Dellawars and Shawnes as lost their allies will most if not all withdraw themſelves and the others Sue for peace or quit their Country or if that Should not be the caſe as they would never know when your army would move nor where that from Cuyahoga would Strike could never be able to prevent them from landing and by works Securing them Selvs against ten times their number. nor, Should they Still be obſtinate, could they prevent the two armies from eſtabliſhing a line of communication [?] from the mouth of the Tawa River to the post at the Miami villages — the Security that Such an arang-[me]nt would give to all the Country which would be theirby encircled as well as to the Six Nations and the Inhabitants in the Vicinity of the Alligany river is too obvious to need Ilustration — it has ben the opinion of Some that a post Should be Eſtabliſhed on Lake Erie at Prisquele [Presque Isle] but

I am by no means of that opinion. Becauſe the distance is much greater from Pittsburgh (or from any place on the Allegena to which water Carriage [?] is always certain) to Priſqueal then from the mouth of Big Bever to Cuyahoga and the Country much worſe for makeing a roade. Indeed from Big Bever to Cuyahoga the country is very level and except for about Seven or Eight mile very dry and good for a road while the other is very hilly a greater part of the way and for 15 mile very wet — Beſides the Distance is neerly Double from Prisquele to the Tawa as from ye Cuyahoga & if a post is made at Prisquele their must be a nother at Cuyahoge, for Such is the Nature of the Navagation of Lake Erie eſpecially for Some Distance west from the mouth of Cuyehoga that Boats or veſsels must always put in at Cuyahoga in their paſsage westward; and wait a favorable time of wind and wether to paſs the Rockey Shore which extends Some miles west of this River (which is deſcribed by this mark X, on Hutchens Map) after paſs[ing] theſe rocks the Shore is good and harbours numerous and Safe. on the west bank of Cuyahoga is a riſeing ground from whence the Country about is Commanded as well as the entrence into the River, which is Deep & navigable for Veſsels of conſiderable Burthen Seven or Eight mile up — the rout from the mouth of Bever Creek I expect will be on the weſt Sid untill we are two or prehaps three mile above Kiſhkuske where is a ford and water Shallow and here I expect would be the first Station. 25 mile from thence the rout will be part on the North Side of the Creek & part of the way on the S paſsing neer Salt Lick & Mohoning villags to croſs the Cayahoga about 10 miles from its mouth. the number of intermediate posts will Depend on the

Distance it Shall be though[t] proper to place them from each other alowing about 20 mile to be a proper distance then four only will be required viz one at croſsing the Bevor above Kiſhkuske one where we croſs the Cuyahoga and two between. I beleve this to be the nearest and best rout by which a communication can be opened between the ohio River and lake Erie without having reguard to water navigation, which whoever depends on will find them Selves decived; — althoe I doubt not but at Some Seasons considerable advantage may be derived from water carage on Most of the Rivers mentioned, and I beleve the Big Bever and Cayahoga may Some times be made a good uſe of for that purpos —

The facts I have mentioned in this Statement I beleve may be relied on I have them from a Gentleman of Judgment and undoubted Veraſety who has had full oppertunty to examin the country not only on the rout from big Bever to Cayahoga but has alſo traveled by many diffrnt roads from the Big Bever to Sandusky and Detroit and is fully acquainted with all the Streams that make a part of the Muskingum River as well as the Southern Shore of Lake Erie and all the Streams that fall into it between Cayahoga & Detroit — in Some part of this rout the country is open in other parts are thickets of Bruſh to Cut out but the principle defeculty is a Swamp & Wet ground for Seven or Eight mile the greatest part of which must be cauſwayed, but I am told that timber is handy & plenty and if So one man will eaſily make one rod in a day and alowing 640 men can be well employed they will make this part of the road in 4 days however if it Should happen to be a dry fall its doubtfull if one fouth part of the distance mentioned will require Bridging in the first move-

ment of the army I would be underſtood that when I Speek of makeing a good road I mean a Waggon road. there is now a Pack horse path the whole distance which has ben much uſed by Indian War parties — by this rout all Kind of provisions except, Beef from Kentuckey can be Transported cheaper to the Miami Village then through any other Chanel and from there conveyed down the Wabaſh or toward Lake Michagan and Into the upper part of the Illinoi Country to Supply any garrisons which govermt may think proper to eſtabliſh in that quarter for the protection of the Frindly Tribes and Security of Traders that may be Sent among them to this may be aded the Supply of the post at Detroit whenever we Shall be in poſsestion of it

If the propoſition Should meet with approbation meaſures for carrying it into Execution cannot be too Soon adopted, for althoe the Seaſon will be too far advanced before the event of the preſent overtures now makeing to the Enimy is known to admit of any offencive opperations of conſequence in this quarter, yet I concive it will not be the caſe with reſpect to the plan I have proposed.

I can See no objection aganst makeing an Eſtabliſhment at the Big-Beaver (where we have long had a post) even while our negotiations are depending. Under this Idea then I would propoſe that the Troops as they arrive at pittsburgh Should be Sent down to that place that the works their be repaird and extended in a proper maner and Maggazeans of proviſions Forrage &c &c &c Collected, for the expidition. this cannot probably be compleated untill october before that time I trust it will be know[n] whether we Shall have a Treety with theſe fellows or not: if they agree on a treaty it is probable they

will be as willing to hold it Somewhere on the Bever Creek, or at the mouth of Cuyahoga as at any other place, and in that caſe they can have no objection to a road being made for Transporting the goods to Cayahoga. at all events whenever we make peace with them whatever we relinquiſh in other reſpects, we must inſist on Eſtabliſhing our Selvs at Cayahoga, for the purpos of Supplying them with goods, to be delivered their or farther westward So that the work proposed at the Big-Beaver will not be lost provided we come to a treaty, and if we are to have no treaty we Shall be ready to execute the plan by force and in that caſe if [we] are ready to move by the 15 of September or even the first of october I think we may Saifly venture on the Expidition. for allowing 16 days to erect the four Stations 4 days to make the cauſway and that we cut our road and March 5 mile a day we ſhall reach Cayahoga in 40 days but I have no doubt but we ſhall be able to reach Cayahoga in half that time about the time intended for the army leveing the post at Big bever the Enimy may be menased from this quarter, and as they will not be alarmed at Seeing you posted at Big Beaver the army would probably reach Cuyahoga before they could poſsiably be in a Situation to oppose them and at the Same [Time] a Body of Volunteer Militia might be Sent out from Buffaloe on Croffords rout toward Sanduskey.

the Meaſure I beleve will be very populer with Ohio County and all the Western part of Pennſylvania which will greatly facilitate the Buſineſs. Forrage for any number of Horſes may be brought to this place with little expence and if the body of Federal Troops which may be raised by the time and Spaired for the purpos Should be thought inſuffi-

cient I have no doubt but an ample Supply of good rifle men would voluntarily engage in the expidition, a Sufficient number of whome live within three days march of the Spot —

on the whole I have no Doubt but we may without any unreaſonable hazord eſtabliſh our Selvs at Cayahoga by the Seting in of winter and that by the first of May if not before, a Sufficient number of boats may be built for Transporting the army into the Tawa River But Should the fall prove unfavorable and we could advance only part of the way yet I think the object ought to be purſud, as we should by that means be able to commence the operations of next year much earlier beſides that I think this is the beſt mode of carrying on the war. the Sooner we Show our Selves on the bank of Lake Erie the better. Such an apperance will be a conviction to the Indians that many things which British immaſaris have tole them is falſe and being convinced that Some things are not true they may be led to Disbeleve the reſt —

COPY OF LETTER TO GENERAL KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON July 9th 1792

Sir

Whether the plan of makeing an Eſtabliſhment at the Cayahoga as proposed in my letter of yesterday [1] be adopted or not, I beg leve to Suggest the propriety of fixing a post Some where on the Muskingum River to be occupyed by about one Company of Musket men & two Companys Riffelmen. they Should be employed in Scouting up the Muskingum and to wards the Hockhocking. they would be a great protection to Ohio County and Waſhington in Pennſylviania, as well as the Settlements on the Muskingum and the inhabitants on both Sides of the Ohio

[1] Page 280.

as far down as Bellevill, from whence their is no Settlement untill we come to the Great Kenhawa. untill offencive opperation are ditermined on theſe Troops Should be posted at the Waterford Station twenty three mile by water up the Muskingum and about 14 by land —

afterward they Should be Sent farther up the river if practicable to Supply them with proviſion they Should [be] fixed at the mouth of Licking and the defeculty of Supply here is the reſque only for loaded boats may go ther at almost any Seaſon —

theſe troops on the advance of the Militia toward Sandusky Should Joyne them on the March and after alarmi[n]g Sandusky in [if] necessary may fall away N Eastward and Joyn the army

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^{L} WAYNE

FORT WASHINGTON July 10th 1792

Dear General

I am Inſtructed by the Secretary at War, "to keep "you conſtantly Informed of my progreſs and pros- "pects relative to the treaty which I am Indevoring "to bring about. I preſume that you are fully acquainted that Capt Hendrick of the Stockbridge tribe left Philadelphia in the month of May with a deſigne to repair to the grand Council of Indians Supposed to be then Setting or about to convean on the Oma, or Tawa River, and from thence was to come to Fort Jefferson to conduct me to the Indian Council provided they Should agree to the meaſure. — I wrote you from Marietta the 23^{d} ult.[1] I left that place the 26th and arrived here the 2^{d} Inſtent, where I learned that on the 25th ult a party of neer 100 Indians attacked a party of hay makers neer Fort Jefferson When the[y] killed & took 16, foure

[1] Page 271.

dead Bodies only were afterward found on the 7th Inſtent one man was killed one wounded and a lad takin priſoner about three mile from this plce as they were aſcending the Ohio. theſe events are by no means flattering to my hopes, and beſides we have a report from the Wabaſh brought in from ouiatanon the Miami or oma Indians had killed 4 men going from one of our Forts with a Flag which if true, it is Supposed must be Major Truman and Colo Harden however this report wants confermation. and Some Wabaſh Indians tell us the War Club left by the party who did the Miſchef at Fort Jefferson belongs to the Charokees, a Baditte of out Caſts that live on the oma River but not admited into the National Councils; but are fit Inſtrumnts for Britiſh Emmeſeris to make uſe of if posiable to prevent a treaty — I propoſe to remain here for the preſent and Shall write you by every oppertunity and Should the wiſhed for Capt Hendrick arrive I will by expreſs give you notice as Soon as poſiable

COPY OF A LETTER TO GENL KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON July 11th 1792

Sir

Sence my arrivel her on the 2d Inſtent, I have forwarded three letter to [you], via-Kentucke dated the 5th 8th & 9th Inſtent [1] in which I informed you that on the 25th ultim about one hundred Indians attacked a party of Haymakers neer Fort Jefferson that four dead bodies had be[en] found and 12 ware miſsing — that Some of the Wabaſh Indians had reported to Major Hamtramick, that four men going from one of our Forts with a Flag and a Speech to the Indians had ben killed &c &c which if true it was apprehended it muſt be Major Truman & Colo Harden —

[1] Pages 273, 280, 290.

That by Major Hamtramicks letters to Gen[l] Wilknson and information recived from M[r] Vego and Some other Gentlemen from Vincennes the Intention of the Wabaſh Indians appeared Doubtfull. that they objected Strongly against coming to Fort Waſhington to treat and that it was my opinion they could not be prevailed with to come to philadelphia at preſent. that it was my decided opinion they ought to be treated with at Vincennes agreably to the Stipulation made with them by Major Hamtramick and in this way it was probable they might be detached from the more hostile tribs — that in Confident expectation a Commiſion would Soon arrive to inable Major Hamtramick or Some other perſon to treet with theſe peopel in the fulleſt maner a part of the Goods now here would be forwarded to Vincennes for the purpos —

Sence writeing my last letter Genl Wilkenſon and Col[o] Sargent, have recived letters from Vincennes and the County of S[t] Clair, which further confirms me in the opinion that if the Indians on the Wabaſh and Illanoi Rivers are properly attended to they may be prevented Joyning or detached from the hostile tribs and prehaps if neceſsary be brought to Joyn the arms of the United States —

In my letter of the Eighth inſtent I ventured to propose a plan of opening a communication from the mouth of the Big Beaver on the Ohio to the mouth of Cayahoga on Lake Erie. I may be thought very officious but you will pardon me Sir I am, not only as a Servent of the public but as a Citizen of this Country, deeply Intrested in bringing this war to a Speedy Iſsue, and I am cleerly of opinion that we can have no laſting peace with the Indians untill the United States eſtabliſh them Selves on Lake Erie and

in the Oma or Tawa River, and that was this once don the war with them would be at an end whether the gariſon at Detroit ware given up or not. that you would have very little or no further ocation for troops on the ohio River or the intermediate Stations between Fort Waſhington and the Mami [Miami] Village that goverment giving unequivocal evidence to the Indians that they would never lay claim to any of their lands but on the foot of fair purchaſe they would have no objection to your Eſtabliſhing posts on the Oma or Tawa River & in the Wabaſh and Illinoi Countrys for their protection and the protection of your trade with them. —

It may be objected that by Divideing our Force Succeſs can not be enſured in either quarter this must depend on many circumſtances. I would reſque my reputation on eſtabliſhing my Self at the Cayahoga with the force of one Sub Legion I anſwer if Succeſs cannot be enſured, Defeat may be prevented by a proper attention an army of one thouſand Musket men may in four hours put them ſelvs in a Situation that an equel number of Indians could not dislodge them. and if proper care was taken by haveing good woodmen and runers imployed, a body of one hundred Indians could not approach an army on their march without discovery in time Sufficient to be prepaired for them —

But prehaps Such a meaſure will be alarmig to the Post at Detroit, may bring on a British war and by their Water Craft on Lake Erie they will prevent your paſsage from Cayahoge to the Tawa & Cut off all Supplys of proviſions Sent that way. If this be the Caſe it is better the Nation knew it for if the Britiſh mean to oppose our protecting our Selves against the Savages the buſiness had better be given up. if the

British really mean to Support the Indians in this war the united States ought to meet them on lake Erie and oppose force to force, or give up the Idea of poſ-seſsing our Selves of the Miami Village. for as I ob-ſerved in my former letter "to Stop here will rather "provoke then distreſs the Enimy nor will the fron-"tiers recive any conſiderable protection their by. Indeed ware your poſts (at the distance they now are from Fort Waſhington to Fort Jefferson) extended to the Miami Village and from there to the mouth of the oma or Tawa River, the inhabitants on the Fron-tiers would recive very little protection their by while the Chippawas and other tribes in their Birch Canoes are able to coast the West End and South Shore of Lake Erie at pleaſure and the British water Craft are continually made uſe of by the Indian parties coming Down the lake for War —

Beſides if you depend on Supplying the posts at the Miami Village and thoſe you Shall Eſtabliſh on the oma or Tawa River with proviſions from Fort Waſh-ington you may probably be disappointed. it has ben and allways will be in the power of the Indians to cut off your Convois paſsing that way. had Govenor S^{t} Clair taken quiet poſsestion of the Miami Village last fall, if the Indians had don their duty he must have Starved in one month and was your army their now it is in the power of 500 Indians to Starve them in a short time —

LETTER TO GEN^{L} KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON July 14th 1792

Sir

Capt Armſtrong the Commanding officer at Fort Hamilton in his letter to Gen^{l} Wilkinson of yesterday writes thus "one man of the 1S^{t} Reg^{t} taken priſoner

"on the 19th of October 1791 when under my Com-
"mand and one on the 4th of November after our
"late defeat, have reached this post they made their
"eſcape from an Indian Village on the St Joſeph 50
"miles above the Miami, paſsed that place and early
"the next day reached Jefferson they came through
"the place where our army was defeated & can no
"doubt give you much information. Three different
"Flaggs from us have ben recived at the Glaze River
"— when the Meſengers were Tomhawked and
"thrown into the water. the last was a great Captain
(I Suppose poor Truman)

from this acct it Seemes northing but War is to be expected from the Indians collected at the Grand Council on the Oma, or Tawa, River. that our only prospect of effecting any thing by way of treaty is with the more Western Tribes. my opinion with reſpect to them I have expreſsed in my letters of the 5th 8th & 11 inſtent[1]—

the Interpreter who (I informed you in my letter of the 5th) was Sent for to Kentucke arrived last evening, he is a young man of a reſpectable family by the name of Wells. he tells me he was taken priſoner at the age of about thirteen and has ben with the Eel River Indians between Eight and nine year he was adopted in the Tribe and in the family of one of the Chiefs was at perfect liberty to go were he pleaſed and meeting with his Brother at Fort Knox about the 17th of June last he came home with him he appears to be a young man of good natural abilities and of an agreable disposition; I propose to employ him as an interpreter and have encouraged him to hope that if he is found capable and faithfull he will be continued in that buſineſs — Mr Wells thinks that the Weya and

[1] Pages 273, 280, 292.

Eel River Indians are disposed for peace that they Say that is their wiſh, but they are great liers and he cannot anſwer for their intention, that the great Chiefs of the Eel River Tribe when he came away was gon to See the Shawones and Dellawares and know what their intentions was concerning the war

Mr Wells gives me reaſon to hope that Some more of the Wabaſh Chiefs will arrive here in two or three weeks, and if they Should prehaps it may give an opening for a Treaty and through their influence a greet number of Indians in the Western quarter, may be drawn togather at Vincennes, agreably to the plan I have before recomended in which caſe a quantety of provision will be neceſsry to be furniſhed at that place for the purpos which circumſtance cannot be too early attended to

the priſoner who have made their eſcape from the Indians and are now at Fort Hammilton will be here in a few days, after the examination of whome I hope a more certain opinion of the Indian Buſineſs in the North may be formed then at preſent

SPEECH OF THE INDIANS —

July 19th 1792

The following is the Substance of a Speech Delivered this day by one of the Weya men, as interpreted by Mr Wells

---

Companion or confident friend, I call you ſo becauſe brothers may Sometimes differ but companions never do.

I am no Cheif; nor do I know well how to Speek. this man (pointing to one Setting by) is a Cheif but not a great Cheif nor can he Speek; the man who

is dead was a Cheif, but not the Greatest Cheif, and Could Speek well

I fear theſe women and Children will all die if they remain here much longer. I pray you will take us all, along to the O post as Soon as poſsiable. I fear very few of our Cheifs if any will come to this place; but a great many Cheifs will meet you, there, who can Speek well. I pray therefore that you will go along with us to the O post as Soon as poſsiable

a String of Wampum

ANSWER TO INDIAN SPEECH —

July 20th 1792

Brother!

You call me confident friend, which Name is very expreſsive. (good) But I wish us to retain the Name of Brother, since we were born on one Island, and are of one Family. 'tis true, Brothers may sometimes differ, yet they soon unite again —

Brother.

I feel Sorry for the loſs of Your Chieff who was a great Man & a good Speaker, & who was to transact the Buiſineſs between You & me. You spoke to me Yesterday with Tears in Your Eyes; yet I understood You. I cant say all to You this time what I wish to say, but when our mourning shall have ceased a little I shall be able to speak cheerfully. —

Brother

I wish to make You happy in every respect. Your Woemen & Chilldren are under my care & Protection, & I am making the neceſsary arrangements for our Journey to the O Post, where I hope & expect to see all Your Chieffs & great Men. There to consult on, & make a lasting Peace between the Indian Tribes inhabiting the Wabash Country & the People

of the United States (or the 13 great Fires) In 30, Days I shall be ready to set out with You

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^{L} WILKINSON

FORT WASHINGTON July 21st 1792

Sir

So much time haveing elapsed Sence Some of the Meſsengers Sent to the Indians on the Oma, or Tawa River ought to have returned, had they ben recived in a frindly maner; or that Capt Hendrick Should have arrived at Fort Jefferſon had he Succeeded in his miſsion, togather with the information of the murder of the people of three flags Sent from this place, renders it morally certain that the great council met on the Tawa river, have rejected the overture made to them by the United States in the Several Speeches and Meſsages Sent them and that the prospect of my Speeking with thoſe Indians through the chanel first proposed is at an end —

And From the information recived from the Wabaſh I concive their is very little reſon to expect any more of the Chiefs from that Quartr to arrive here, or if they Should, they will be of the inferior grades and a Treaty with them will be of no conſequence. while on the other hand it appears highly probable that the principle chiefs from nearly all the western tribs, with a great number of warriours and others may be collected at Vincennes and by a proper management may be detached from thoſe tribs which have oreginated the war and keept in a State of peace. which if it can be effected must be of very eſential Service to the United States. beſides it appears to me that this is the only remaining chanel by which their is any prospect that I Shall be able to Speek with the more Hostile tribs. theſe conſidera-

tions have induced me to form the reſolution of going to Vincennes as Soon as circumſtancs will permit. I have therefore to request that an Eſcort may be provided and other arrangements made to enable me to leve this with Indian goods, the priſoners & other Indian[s] now here in three or four weeks at farthest as it is of great importance to meet the Indians in council before the hunting Seaſon commences —

LETTER FROM GENL WILKINSON

FORT WASHINGTON
July 21st 1792
6 o Clock P. M.

Sir

I beg pardon for not answering your Letter of this date[1] sooner — a variety of Engagements must be my apology —

The deductions which you formd, upon the manifest spirit & temper of the Savage Bands resident on the Tawa or Omee River, appear to me to be well grounded, and will, I flatter myself, justify your determination in favor of a movement to Ft Vincennes where I am sanguine, your presence & your negotiations seasonably applied, may be productive of the best Effects. —

I accord with you in the Idea, that the captive Indians now at this Post, & their visitants, should accompany you, but I am also of opinion, that the former should be made instrumental, to a general Convention of the Nations in that Quarter, and that thoſe of the Eel River Tribe should not be released, until the Body of that Tribe are brought to an Amicable Interview. —

I shall with the utmost alacrity, make every prac-

[1] Page 299.

ticable exertion for the accommodation of the movement you propose, & flatter myself I shall be able to arrange to your satisfaction; But to enable me to do this, I must beg the favor of you, to furnish me the following Estimates. Viz.

1st The strength of the Escort you require —

2ndly The species & quantity of Provisions for the Voyage — and

3rdly The quantum of Rations which may eventually become neceſsary to the subsistence of the Savages who may be drawn into the conference. —

I shall be happy to receive theſe last Estimates, as soon as may suit your convenience, that I may iſsue the neceſsary ordors to the Contractors, and I have the honor to be, with deference & Esteem, Sir

Your most obed.
Hble Servt
JA. WILKINSON

Brigr Genl. PUTNAM

COPY OF A LETTER TO GENL KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON July 22d 1792

Sir

the priſoners I mentioned in my letter of the 14th[1] as haveing eſscaped from the Indians and being then at Fort Hamilton, have Sence arrived here, and by the information they give, I think their is the highest reaſon to beleve that Freeman — Truman, and Harden[2] are all murdered, and all the people who went with them except one whome they conſidered as a

[1] Page 295.

[2] Freeman was a messenger to the Indians on the Maumee, sent out in April by General Wilkinson. Colonel John Hardin was the companion of Major Alexander Trueman, who bore a speech to the hostile Indians from the President. These three messengers were killed.

Servent, or perſon of no conſequence and for that reaſon Spaired his life. and if the Squaw told true it Seems that Truman must be murdered by ordor of the council, & as a confermation of their reſolution not to make peace and when I add to this the circumſtance that I hear northing of Capt-Hendrick I conclude, the ,Indians met on the Oma, or Tawa river have rejected the [o]vertures made them by the United States in the Several Speeches Sent them, and that the prospect of my speeking with them through the channel first proposed is at an end. from the information recived from the wabaſh mentioned in my former letter togather with information rec[iv]ed from M[r] Wells the Interpreter & the Indians who are now here on a viſit to their families I concive their is very little reaſon to expect any more of the Chiefs from that quarter to arrive here or if they Should they will be of inferior Grades and a treaty with them will be of no conſequence — from all these circumſtancs I conclude that my tarrying at this place much longer can be of no Service whatever —— except to receve your furthr ordors which I certainly Should do or return up the river but for the following reaſons viz It appearing highly probable, that the principle Chiefs from neerly all the western tribes with a great number of warriours and others may be collected at Vincennes if the buſineſs is Seaſonably attended to, with the prospect that by a proper management they may be detached from thoſe tribes, which have oreginated the war and return to or be keept in a State of peace, that this is the only remaining channel by which there is any prospect that I Shall be able to Speek with the more hostile tribes, that it is eſsen[ti]al to the Succeſs of the buſineſs that they meet in council before their

hunting Seaſon comes on; that if the Day Should not be fixed on and the Indians advertized of it without waiting your further inſtruct[ions] So much time will probably elapse before an anſwer to my letters on this Subject, or any ordors in conſequence of them can arrive in this quarter as may render the whole buſineſs abortive; — for theſe reaſons Sir I have ben induced to form the reſolution of going to post Vincent for the purpos of holding a Treaty with the western tribes about the 20th of September and Shall take meaſures to have them invited to meet there about that time

haveing communicated my reſolution to General Wilkinſon and requested that "an eſcort might be "provided and other arrangements made to proſecute "the object, he has very politely aſsured me that the meaſure meets his opinion and that he "Shall with "the utmost alacrity make every practicable exertion, "for the accommodation of the movement," —

I propoſe to leve this with the Indians goods Indian priſon[ers] &c about the 15th of August: this delay is partly on the Idea of a bair poſsability that Capt Hendrick or Some other Meſsenger of peace may yet arrive from the North and partly from the probability that Some new ordor may arrive from the war office, as I find by a Pittsburgh paper that you are advertised of the murder of Freeman and that Brant has ben to Philadelphia I hope that an anſwer to my letters reſpecting the buſineſs of the Wabaſh Indians will arrive before the time proposed for the treaty, in which caſe if Major Hamtramack is appointed the Commiſsioner for the purpos, I Shall feal my Self perfectly Satisfied in being excuſed, and at the Same time Shall cherfully afford him all the aid in my power but if I Should be disappointed I

Shall notwithſtanding proſecute the buſineſs of making a truce or peace as far as circumſta[nces] and as far as my preſent inſtructions will warrent me

Jean Krouch the principle Chief who arrived here with M^r^ Vego on the 3^d^ inſtent died the 16^th^ — —

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^L^ WILKINSON

FORT WASHINGTON July 23^d^ 1792

Sir

In your letter of the 21^st^ inſtent [1] you request me to Furniſh you with the following eſtemate viz —

"1^st^ The Strength of the Escort I require

"2^dly^ The Species and quantety of provisions for "the Voyage.

"3^dly^ The Quantum of Rations which may eventu- "ally become neceſsary to the Subsistance of the "Savages which may be drawn in to the conference —

In compliance with your request I beg leve to propoſe the following eſtemate viz —

1^st^ The Escort from this to the mouth of the Wabaſh to conſist of 1 Capt 1 Sub 4 Serg^ts^ 2 Muſeck 66 Rank & file to be joynend at the mouth of the River by a party of Troops from post Vincent of Sub^s^ 1 S^t^ 2 — 30 R & File a party conſisting of 30 oarsmen with six Perouges Should alſo be procured by Maj^r^ Hamtramick at the post and Sent of So early as to be at the mouth of the Wabaſh the 4th of September —

My own family will conſist of 5 perſons

The Indian priſoners and visitents will require 58 Rations per day — —

The Voige from this to the Wabaſh may be calculated at 20 days and from thence to Post Vincent at 10 days

[1] Page 300.

These premiſes gives for the Voyage to post Vincent 4840 rations Say 5000 Ration, for which Salt meet must be furnished Say 5000 lb of Bacon allowing for Extreordinis

The number of Savages that will attend the proposed treaty is very uncertain or how long it will be neceſſary to feed them is alſo uncertain I beleve that 40000 — Rations will be a moderate calculation for this purpos —

includeing rations for the eſcort that goes from this to the time of their return (if they are to return) or if they do not return — they will increſe the Number of Rations to be Iſsued at the post, and rations for the guard that may go with the Cattle from the falls Should alſo be provided for

COPY OF A LETTER TO MAJOR HAMTRANCK

FORT WASHINGTON July 24th 1792

Sir.

I am Sent into the Western country by the Preſident of the United States, authorized "to make a "Truce or peace with the Indians, and charged to "make the highest poſiable exertion to bring the war "to a cloſe, and to Diviſe every proper means for that "purpos. —

The primary object was for me to go to the Omee or Tawa River, where it was expected that the chiefs from the Wabaſh tribes as well as other nations would aſsemble, but by the murder of our flags this plan is rendered impracticable. I have therefore diterminded to pay you a visit with a veew of Treating with Such Indians as can be perſuaided to come to Post Vincent, and to distribute Some articles of cloathing among them —

By your letters to General Wilkinson brought by

Mr Vego and the gentelman who had the charge of his boats, I was fully convinced of the propriety and neceſsity of treating with the Western Indians at Post Vincent agreably to your Stipulations and their wiſhes. haveing at that time no expectation of being able to come that way I wrote to Genl Knox recommending in the Strongest terms that Some perſon Should be authorized for the purpos, & I have no doubt but my letters will have their proper effect. but Should the arrangements for a treaty be put off untill an anſwer to my letters is recived the Seaſon would be So far advanced as to render the buſines abortive, and my object in the north being over for the reaſons before mentioned, I have Ditermined on this viſit to the west and am to leve this place the 15th of august with the Indian priſoners and their frinds, and alſo with a quantety of Indian goods and proviſions for feeding the Indians that Shall aſsemble on the ocation, and depend on a Detachment from you with boats and oarsmen to meet me the 4th of September at the mouth of the Wabaſh agreably to the ordor you will recive from Genl Wilkinson

the time I propoſe the Indians Should collect is about the 20th or between the midle and last of September as you will percive by the incloſed Speech to them,[1] which I request you will Send to all the tribes of the Wabaſh and Illinoi Country, or as many of them as time will permit or you in your discretion Shall judge best. you will make out as many copys of this speech and Send as many meſsengers as you may think proper takeing care that the proper Strings of Wampum &c be Sent with each Speech — and I will be anſwerable for the expence in the maner you Shall contract —

[1] Page 307.

the time of my aproch to the Wabaſh ought not to be made public, Lest the Savages Should form Some plan to attack us in our aſsent of the river —

Jean Krouch the Weya Chief who came here with M^r^ Vego died on the 16^th^ inſtent —

P S as the Circumſtancs of the Indian on the Wabaſh are better known to me then any other, I have made out and Signed a Speech Directed to them. in the other Speech you See the direction is left for you to fill. this form of Speech I wiſh you to Send to as many nations as you think proper puting my name thereto

SPEECH TO THE WABASH INDIANS

The Speech of Rufus Putnam, Agent of the Great Chief General Waſhington —

To Kaweahatta The great Chief on the Eel River And to all the Chiefs and Warriours of the Wyachtenos, and other Indian Tribes living on the waters of the Wabaſh River

Brothers

I am on my way from the great Councill fire of the United States, where the great & good Chieff General Washington resides — I am coming with the wishes of his heart to You which are very good, & which I hope will make Your hearts rejoice when You hear them.

Brothers

Out of love to You I am come this long Way — I wish you to become a happy People, & believe nothing is wanting to make you ſo, but that You & the United States might once see & hear one another and remove Such obstacles, against which we hitherto have stumbled — In order to obtain this end, I have

appointed the 20th Day of September for us to meet each other at Post Vincent there to consult each other in a friendly & brotherly manner, — to wipe off all Tears — to sett our hearts aright — & to establish a lasting Peace & friendship, taking one another by the hands as true brothers, & loving one another from our hearts.

Brothers,

You see something very good preparing for You — make yourselves ready & come & see what it is — I expect to meet you on the Day appointed — Your friends & relations I shall bring with me.

RUFFUS PUTNAM
Commiſsioner ect — ect —

FORT WASHINGTON
July 24 1792

COPY OF A LETTER TO GENL KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON July 26th 1792

Sir

I herewith encloſe a Duplicate of my letter of the 22d inſtent with the copy of Some Speeches[1] which is connected with the buſines mentioned in that letter the Dispach to Major Hamtramick on the Subject went off yesterday by expreſs. I have requested him to forward the Speech to the Wabaſh Chiefs and Simelar ones in wapum to as many other tribes as he Shall think proper —

I have conſiderable expectation from this buſineſs Mr Wells the Interpreter tells me that the Chief to whome my Speech is directed on the Eel River is a very Sensible man that the Britiſh account him the best Speeker among all the Indian nations, that he is the Greatest Chief and has more influence then all the Chiefs in the Wabaſh country, that when he (Mr

[1] Pages 301, 307.

Wells left Eel River in June laſt, this Chief was gon to the Council on the Omee — but Mr Wells thinks he is disposed to peace and as he has two Sisters who are priſoners here and Some other relations Mr Wells has no doubt but on my Meſsage he will come to the treaty althoe he declined it last winter on Major Hamtramaks invitation — through the influence of this man I am yet in Some hopes of being admitted to Speak with their high Mightineſes the Shawonoes and other hoſtile Chiefs.

LETTER FROM COL° SARGENT[1]

CINCINNATI COUNTY OF HAMILTON August 5th 1792

In addition Gentlemen to the Laws which we have paſsed at this Time and the Bills under consideration I take Leave to suggest an Opinion of the neceſsity of some effectual measures to guard against the evil Practices of foreigners of a certain description in various parts of this Territory — much mischief has been complained of from them in the two western Counties which perhaps might be sufficiently provided against by the vigilance of the civil and military officers of Government if ALL STRANGERS were obliged to report themselves — This is invariably demanded of our Citizens croſsing the miſsiſsippi or visiting the british Establishments and the Governour deemed it neceſsary to ordain such a regulation in the County of St Clair AND to direct that the Inhabitants should entertain no strangers whatever without immediate Information thereof to the senior officer present — the present Circumstances of the Territory, involved in a grievous war with a subtle enterprising Enemy

[1] Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio.

whose Emiſsaries from our Deficiency of Caution may be frequently amongst us, seem to me more than ever to demand such police — as well as that a power should be somewhere vested for more *effectual Defence* than is at present provided for by Law.

Courts martial having been called into view Gentlemen by the militia Laws and officers in this and other Counties subjected to Expences in that service, besides the Loſs of their Time, some small provision I humbly conceive should be made for this purpose and other contingent Charges.

The Inhabitants of the two western Counties complain to me of great Injury by Parties of Hunters (living under the spanish Government) infesting those Districts and destroying great numbers of Deer and Buffaloe whilst they are rigorously debarred of all Indulgencies under that Government which perhaps Gentlemen may be considered as demanding our attention.

A Law to regulate Ferries in the different Counties it appears to me proper should be adopted as soon as may be — for the want thereof the Governour has hitherto been constrained to take this Burden upon himself.

In most wise Governments I believe Gentlemen it has been the rule to regulate by Law the admiſsion of attorneys in the different Courts — and for the want of due provision upon this subject I have too much reason to think Inconveniences and Injuries have accrued.

An act to prevent nusances it appears to me Gentlemen is also very much wanting — for they are fast multiplying in almost all the Settlements which have been under my observation — but this and all the other Subjects are submitted to you with Deference

and pure faith that they will receive every attention which Circumstances can admit

I have the honour to be
Gentlemen
with much respect
your obedient humble Servt
WINTHROP SARGENT

Honble Judges
SYMMES
and PUTNAM

GENERAL WAYNES LETTER

PITTSBURGH 6th August 1792

Sir

I am sincerely sorry to inform you, that the report of the murder of Colo Harding, & Major Truman, appears to be, but too well founded; I have this moment examined two men, just from *Detroit*, by the way of Niagara, who were taken Prisoners by the Indians, one of them, near Fort Jefferson, on the 27th of October, and the other, a Mr John Cleghorn, near the falls of Ohio, in April last. who was carried to *Michilimackinac* & from thence to *Detroit*, where he arrived on the 24th of June, and says that, whilst he was at Michilimanckinac, accounts were received, that *Captain* Harding, and one or two others, were killed by the Indians, & the papers that were found upon them, sent to *Capt M^cKee* — he was also informed at *Detroit*, (where the report was common) that, a *Captain* Truman, and another man were killed, near the Miami towns, by two Indians, who were in company with them, in the Evening, that, the Indians, *affected* to be very uneasy — upon which, Captain Truman, told them, they might *tie* the other man, so that their numbers shou'd be equal, which was accordingly done, — that, they then *shot* Truman, & *toma-*

hawed, the man that was tied; that, the *Interpreter* made his escape into a swamp or woods, that the Indians, called to him, and promised not to hurt him, upon which he deliver'd himself up, & they carried him to the Council, as a Prisoner; and reprobated, the foolish conduct, of *Truman* — (as they termed it) for suffering the man, to be *tied;* that these papers, were also, given to *Capt M'Kee*, and said, this was the *fifth* flag they had *killed*, nor had they any wish, or intention, to make peace, as they had already been deceived, by the Americans, last ſummer, & before:

he further says, that a Certain *Simon Girty* — with *four hundred* Indians had left *Detroit* some days before he arrived, — say about the 15th of June, and swore — that he wou'd make a *stroke* upon the Americans immediately, & either kill, — or be killed, in the attempt, Query — may not this, be the person in *red*, or *ſcarlet*, who was seen with the Indians, in the attack upon the ſergeants party near Fort Jefferſon, on the 25th of June:

however this man *Cleghorn*, goes with the conveyance, to Fort Washington, where you can have an opportunity of examining him more minutely; Upon the whole, I believe, that the Death, of those two unfortunate Gentlemen, is reduced to a certainty.

You will please to make Genl Wilkinson, acquainted with this disagreeable information; Your letter of the 10th Ultimo,[1] & that of the 18th June, arrived safe.

I have the honor to be with ſincere Esteem
Your most Obt
& very
Huml Sert
ANTY WAYNE

The Honble
Brigr Genl RUFUS PUTNAM

[1] Page 291.

LETTER FROM GEN^{L} KNOX

WAR-DEPARTMENT,
August 7th 1792.

Sir.

I have had the honor to receive your communications of the 5th, 8th, and 9th of July.[1]

I have no doubt, but that poor Trueman has been ſacrificed by ſavage barbarity! But, it is ſtill questionable, whether the motive thereto has been the bloodthirſtineſs of an individual, the deſire of the Shawaneſe and other inveterate tribes to fruſtrate a peace, or, a dictate of the general council — If either of the two former, peace may yet be attainable.

Captain Hendricks, accompanied by three friendly indians, probably ſet out from Buffaloe for the Omee river, about the 18th of June — The Senekas would be later; and Captain Brant would probably be at Au Glaze, about the 20th of the preſent month — It would be an uncommon aſsemblage of unfortunate circumſtances if all our overtures fail. You will cultivate and make peace with the Wabash tribes to the utmost of your power, and you will judge how far your going to Post Vincennes, or any other place will facilitate the object — Extend your treaties with one tribe after another as far as poſsible, always ſubjecting them to the ratification of the Preſident and Senate of the United States.

The United States require no lands of the Wabash indians not heretofore ceded — Impreſs this idea upon all the tribes — Apply the goods at Fort Washington to the purpoſes of the ſaid treaties.

If it ſhould ſo happen, that in purſuance of your inſtructions, you ſhould have an immediate opportunity of repairing to the hoſtile indians, you will ap-

[1] Pages 273, 280, 290.

point ſuch time for aſsembling, to the Wabash tribes, and all their connexions, as not to militate with the first object.

I will endeavor to have more indian goods tranſported to Fort Washington, and I hope that an opportunity by a peace, will be preſented you, of beſtowing them to the benefit of the United States.

I have communicated a copy of your letter of the 8th inſtant, to the Preſident of the United States.

The advancement of the public intereſts being the ſole object of my purſuit, and not the eſtablishment of any particular opinion, I am ſincerely obliged to you for the propoſitions relative to a different route by the Cayahoga — The plan of operations was conſidered, and approved by the Preſident of the United States, upon as full a view of all circumſtances, political as well as military, which could be obtained at the time of deciſion.

We are in a delicate ſituation, politically, with reſpect to the british government — There are exiſting circumſtances of ſuch a nature as to render it highly expedient to avoid all caſes of a poſsible colliſion with that power — Were we poſted on the margin of the lake, and had thereon a naval arrangement of the moſt diminutive ſize, the peace and dignity of the country might be committed to the diſcretion of a ſubaltern's party — The Preſident has therefore judged it prudent to keep at a diſtance from the lakes for the preſent — Hereafter, arrangements, ſimilar to the one you propoſed, may be adopted — At preſent, the following objections have occurred to my mind, to the Cayahoga route, which, with your propoſitions, I have tranſmitted to major general Wayne, for his conſideration, and remarks thereon. to wit —

First — Reaſons of national policy will reſtrain

(during the preſent negociations relative to the poſts) all arrangements on the lakes, which might occaſion colliſions with the British inferior agents. This is therefore a delicate point, & is not to be undertaken.

Secondly. That in caſe of offenſive operations, a diviſion of the probable efficient force would be ſuch as to render the ſucceſs problematical.

Thirdly — No immediate object could be found for the operation of the ſaid force, moving by the way of Cayahoga, provided the information by Captain Brant, could be depended upon; to wit, that the Wyandots and Delawares have left Sandusky.

Fourthly — That even if the foregoing reaſons did not exiſt ſo ſtrongly, the advanced ſeaſon would prevent the meaſure this year, unleſs the motives were ſo powerful, as to be a reaſon for the troops encountering all the hardſhips and dangers of the late ſeaſon, as in the last campaign.

Fifthly. A poſt, or poſts, eſtablished at, and below, the Miami village, towards Lake Erie, would, it is preſumed, have the direct effect to make all the hoſtile indians, hitherto reſident to the eaſtward of the ſaid Omie River, as at Sandusky, and other places, remove to the Weſtward of the ſaid river, provided they have not already removed, which is highly probable.

If the Preſident of the United States, to whom I have alſo communicated my objections, ſhould judge differently, I ſhall communicate the reſult to the commander in chief.

I have alſo communicated to major general Wayne, your letter of the 9th, relative to a poſt on the Muſkingum, in order that he may take ſuch meaſures thereon as he may judge proper.

It will ſtill be left to your diſcretion, when to deliver the priſoners — Brigadier General Wilkinſon ſeems to think that most of them ought to be retained, to ſee what part their tribes will take.

The encloſed letter[1] is from General Iſrael Chapin, who is the Agent to the five Nations, and which I communicate to you, as important information.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
with great eſteem,
Your very humble Servt
H KNOX
Secy of War

Brigadier General PUTNAM

[COPY OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL ISRAEL CHAPIN TO GENERAL KNOX]

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

CANANDAUGUE July 17, 1792

Sir

Agreeably to the directions I received for the purpose, I set out for Buffalo Creek the ninth Ultimo. It was out of my power to dispatch Captain Hendrick, as soon as I could have wished. The Chiefs of the five nations at first peremptorily insisted on his waiting to accompany them, and it was not without difficulties that they were induced to relinquish the point. After a Council which was protracted for several days they however gave their consent. He set out in a bark Canoe on the eighteenth with suitable attendants and provisions. It was the opinion of the Indians he would reach the place of destination in eight days. — As I had poſſeſsed myself with all the information I expected I would have returned

[1] Page 316.

home after the departure of Captain Hendricks but the Chiefs would by no means consent to my leaving them while the treaty continued — and indeed I have not since been sorry as I have reason to believe that my continuance has been the means of more perfectly reconciling the Onadaugas and Cyugas. The far greater part of both nations have resided at buffaloe Creek ever since the late war. On my first arrival the principal chief of the Cyuaga nation commonly known by the name of the *Fish Carrier* and indeed the whole of both nations were extremely disaffected. for the grounds of their disaffection, I must refer you Sir, to the Speeches delivered me on the occasion which I ordered to be taken down in writing on the Spot, and transmit to you by this dispatch. After several conferences with the *Fish Carrier* in which I was greatly aſsisted by several chiefs who attended Congreſs he gradually relaxed in his severity and at last became perfectly friendly. A number of young Warriors had gone off in the Spring to join the hostile Indians. The Fish carrier promised me that he would not only recall the party but would go in person to the Southern treaty and use every exertion to bring about a general pacification between Congreſs and the Southern Indians, that after he had been useful he would go and see General Washington and could then take him by the hand with confidence and pleasure. few Indian chiefs have a more extensive influence than the fish Carrier; the alteration therefore of his sentiments could not but afford me the highest pleasure. I can only impreſs it as my private wish that all his reasonable requests might be gratified.

You have no doubt heard Sir that a number of Senecas were concerned with our people in cutting off

a scout of hostile Indians. This event has occasioned a good deal of uneasineſs among the five nations. Their resentment is peculiarly excited against the Commander at Fort Jefferson. They say that contrary to the advice they received from Congreſs he has excited some of their thoughtleſs young men to strike the tomahawk into the heads of their brothers. That it has occasioned an uneasineſs towards the whole of their nation and thrown obstacles in the way of their influence in favor of their friends.

The Chiefs from Onida did not arrive during the Council I should otherwise have been able to have dispatched the Chiefs of the five nations to the Southern treaty. previously to my leaving Buffaloe Creek two of the Maſsasioga Chiefs attended council with the five Nations — their appearance was perfectly friendly — The[y] expreſsed a wish to be made acquainted with our great Men The Mohauks were sent for from the Grand River but as Captain Brant was absent and their principal Chief Sick they did not attend Colonel Butler the Brittish Superintendant of the Six Nations was also requested to attend. He came as far as the Garrison. The Commanding officer would not permit him to proceed further He however sent a speech to the Indians in which he told them they were in the right path and advised them to continue in it. I was visited by several Brittish Officers and Gentlemen from the Settlement of Niagara, they behaved with a politeneſs that seemed nearly to approach to real friendſhip.

On the whole every circumstance that respects the six Nations wears at present a moſt flattering appearance. The Chiefs that went to Congreſs are our most Zealous friends, the[y] particularly explained to the nations who convened for the purpose the

Speeches they had made and received while absent, The reception and treatment they received at Philadelphia, and I had the pleasure of observing that they meet with universal approbation.

From the best intelligence I could procure the southern Nations rest in quiet except the Delaware and Shawanoes neither Can I learn that they at present have any thoughts of sending out war parties but are very attentive lest an enemy should surprize their Villages. The grand Council of Indian nations are now convening at the Falls of the Big Miami. It is thought it will be the largest ever known, the Indians from Canada have been invited and are every day expected at Niagara. No offensive step will probably be taken until after the General deliberation and from the number of friends we shall have there I am induced to expect a favorable iſsue.

The five Nations manifested gratitude to Congreſs for their intention of erecting Schools among them and providing them with Blacksmiths. I would however inform you Sir that it will be out of my power to do either except greater encouragment is given and if I may be permitted to give my private judgment if Congreſs would establish at present only one school to the west of Genesee River and endow it with a Stipend that would make it an object for a Gentleman of Character it might prove of infinite ſervice both in conciliating the affections of the Indians and in laying a foundation for their civilization.

I would wish, Sir, ſome direction how far I am to distribute to the Indians. I am continually surrounded by a Cloud of them since my appointment. They all expect to be fed from my Table, and made glad from my Celler, some instances too of Cloathing I have not been able to deny — I would Suggest the

Idea whether a small ſtore of Proviſsions and goods to be distributed on neceſsary occasions might not be a ſaving to the public.

I am with respect
Your moſt humble ſerv^{t}
(Sign^{d}) ISRAEL CHAPIN

General KNOX

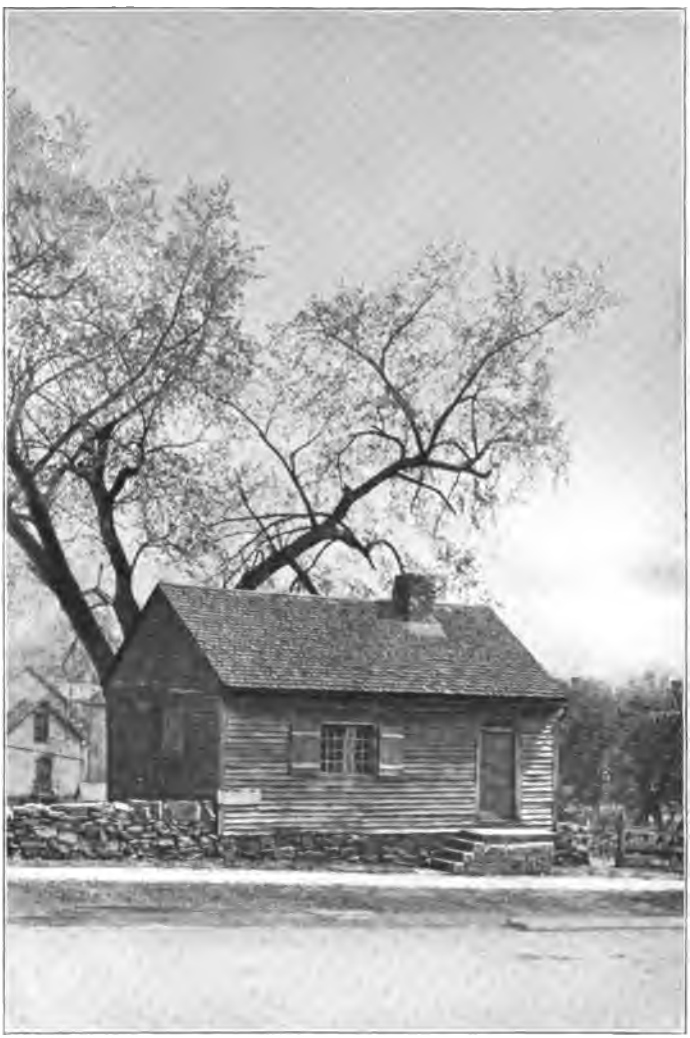
MAJOR HAMTRAMCKS LETTER

FORT KNOX POST VINCENNES
August 9th 1792 —

Sir

I have to Acknowledge your letter July 24th[1] — every Arrangement to promote the Public Service will be attended to with all Poſsible exactneſs — but I am Affeared that the lownef of the water will make it difficult for any Boats or Perogues to Aſcend the Wabash — Your Speech[2] to the Wabash Indians has already been Dilivered to two Nations and will be Dilivered to the Others as soon as poſsible — they Appeared to be well pleased and everything will work right if they are but sincere — I have also Sent your Speech to the Potowatomees by the son of the first King to that Nation who has been with me for some time (I suppose as a Spye) and he aſsures me that he will bring his Nation to ſee you — as they Sincerely wish to be at Peace with the U States — I shall have some Difficulty to send to the Illionois Country, owing to the extravegant Price they ask. however it must be done — if all the Indians attends they will draw about Seven or Eight Hundred Rations p^{r} day — I have the Honor to inclose you the State of the proviſons now on hand — I beg to Observe that after I have sent you the Sixty four Men to the Mouth of

[1] Page 305. [2] Page 307.



THE OHIO COMPANY'S LAND OFFICE AT MARIETTA

the Wabash as I am directed, that the Garrisſon will be left very weak for our total is but 94 and twenty of them are Sicke — I would beg therefore that the Escort which I am told is to come with the Cattle from the Falls might be sent on so as to be here before the Perogues goes down, which will be the first day of September —

I have the Honor to
be Sir with Very great
Respect your Most obedient
and Very humble Servant
J. F. HAMTRAMCK

Brig[d] Genr. PUTNAM

COPY OF LETTER TO GEN[L] KNOX

FORT WASHINGTON August 16[th] 1792

Sir

My last letter was dated July 26[th] with which I encloſed a duplicate of my letter of the 22[d] of the Same month, with a copy of Some Speeches connected with the buſineſs of treating with the Indians at Post Vincent.[1]

I have ben in anxious expectation to recive Some information from you or General Wayne, before this time, that Should have removed every doubt with reſpect to Major Truman and the other Meſsengers being murdered, as I concived Captain Hendrick would aſsertain that matter and have it in his power to report to you or General Wayn, althoe he might not be able to give me any information on the Subject. but hearing of northing from Hendrick or any other quarter to contridict the Meaſure, I Shall Leave this tomorrow morning for Post Vincent, in purſuit of the object I wrote you in the letter. Hopes of prevailing

[1] Pages 301, 307

to — the Indian priſoners and goods, for the treaty, Started down the river this morning

I flatter my ſelf that a pritty large number of Indians will aſsemble and accordingly have ſent forward goods Sufficient to Supply nearly 700 of different Sexes and Sizes, with a Blanket, Stroud, leggens, and ſhirt each beſides 30 Coats & 30 hats, for chiefs, — Siſsers knives looking Glaſses &c — And I take with me Some of the Medals, Arm & wriſt bands and other Jewels —

I feal exceedingly embarraſed on the ocation lest poſsiably Hendrick or Some other frindly Meſsenger Should arrive from the North or that Some inſtructions from the War office may have iſsued, with which my Visit to post Vincent Should be inconſistant. but the morral certainty of the murder of our flags and So much time haveing elapsed without any intiligence relative to the primary object for which I came out, togather with the proſpect of rendering eſencial Servis to goverment by takeing advantage of existing circumſtan[ce]s which would probably be lost for ever if the preſent moment Should not be embraced, I trust if my conduct is not approved I Shall yet be excuſiable. I mean Such circumſta[nces] as that the chiefs have expreſsed a willingneſs to come to post Vincent but no further & the agreement of Hamtramck that they Should have a treaty at that place which Should that agreement not be complyed with on the part of goverment in a reaſonable time the miſschief might not eaſily be remidied & if not gratified in this by the influence of their Neighbours they are in danger every moment of forming war parties that the priſoners being taken along will [illegible] many to come in which otherwiſe [illegible] they Shall See theſe priſones

well cloathed and generously given up to their frinds with the report of their good uſsage while priſoners it must certainly have a great influence with all who ſhall be preſent a circumſtance this which may never exist again —

beſides I am well aſsured that Some of the first carractors among the Wabaſh Chiefs refused to come in on Major Hamtramicks invitation becauſe he was no more then a war Capttain, and the further I have enquired into the buſineſs the more I am convinced it is a matter of conſiderable conſequence and ought to be attended to I find they have no Idea of War Captains treating of peace this provence belongs to other courts and it was for this reaſon, Kaweahatta the great Chief of the Eel river refused to See Major Hamtramick last winter, but told his brother (who was a War Captain) that he might go, that it was proper one War Captain Should Speek with another. to avoid this prejudice, and alſo that they might have an Idea of the buſineſs I was charged with from their corespondence with the britiſh, I have taken the carractor of "Agent of the Great Chief General Waſhington. — and that I may be conſistent have thrown by my uniform and taken the habit of a civilian

Theſe circumſtances are trivial with us and prehaps with Some may be thought Laughable, but with theſe barbaras people they are conſidered as matters of great moment and if we mean to make a peace with them we ought to accommodate our ſelves to their Ideas of propriety eſpecially those which they conſider as binding on them

I Shall make every poſiable exertion in perſuaiding theſe Western [Indians] to Send a deputation to Philadelphia & I am not without hopes of prevailing with them on that head

I preſume that my letters as late as the 11th of July must have reached you by the tenth of August, and if your anſwer is forwarded by expreſs from Pittsburgh the dispatches will reach Fort Waſhington by the first of September and General Wilkinſon will imediately forward them to me where at post Vincent they cannot fail of arriveing by the tenth or fifteenth of September I made this calculation when I appointed the treety and I Still hope to recive your inſtructions before the time of opening it —

I encloſe you an Abſtract of Indian goods ſtill remaining at Fort Waſhington. Some of theſe articles are much damaged and ought in my opinion to be Sold, & Some others are not fit for Indian purposes — the 434½ yards of Linsey is a ſtriped cloath, and would anſwer very well to make into hunting ſhirts and over halls, to ſupply rifle men or other ſcouting parties ocationaly when ſent into the woods, as it is much [m]ore healthy then linen and lighter then the common woolen, and the colour will ſerve for concealment much better then the common uniforms

COPY OF LETTER TO GENL WILKINSON

FORT WASHINGTON August 17th 1792

Sir

you are perfectly acquainted with every circumſtance connected with the buſineſs I came out upon. Should anything turn up in any quarter which you concive it neceſsary for me to be informed of I ſhall thank you to give me the earliest inteligence in perticuler if any Dispatches for me or Major Hamtramick should arrive from the War office I must requst that you will forward them by expreſs as Soon as poſiable

COPY OF LETTER TO GENERAL KNOX

RAPIDS OF OHIO August 21, 1792

Sir

the Escort with the Indian priſoners &c arrived here yesterday without any accident the low ſtate of the water obliges us to hall the goods proviſions &c by the rapids in waggons which will be ſome expence and cauſe two or three days detention —

I encloſe an extract from Major Hamtramcks letter to me from Fort Knox dated auguſt 9th.[1]

I wrote you very perticulerly the 16th inſtent[2] from Fort Waſhington, and have northing new to add except that I hear a perſon by the name of Harden who lives ſome where neer the ohio on this ſide of Cumberland River is miditateing to ſtrike at the Indians in ſome quarter or other. I am told he is the ſame perſon who murdered ſome frindly Indians neer post Vincent about three years ago. ſhould this wretch be ſucceſsfull in raiſing his party (which it is ſaid is to conſiſt of 100 and that his advertisments inviteing volunteers are posted up in divers part of the country) and fall on the Wabaſh Indians at this time it muſt undoubtedly put an end to all proſpect of peace in that quarter, and all the expence which goverment are at on the ocation be worſe then thrown away

it is thought by ſom that few will joyne in his proposed expidition and that he will not be able to make any ſtroke of conſequence. but Sir ſhall the United States Suffer an Individule thus to inſult her authorety with impunity. I hope not and must entreet that proper meaſu[re]s be adopted to puniſh this and every ſuch disturber of the public peace for untill

[1] Page 320. [2] Page 321.

ſome examples are made of ſuch perſons, the frontiers will be continually involved in war and bloodſhed and the united Stats in expence —

LETTER FROM GENERAL WILKENSON

FORT HAMILTON
August 28 1792

Dear General

Having waited until this date, without receiving Aid, Information or Advice from above, I am constrained to make uſe of the Garrison of Fort Steuben, as an Escort to the Convoy of Beef Cattle, destined to Fort Knox; It is neceſsary this Convoy should return as soon as the public Service may permit and I have ordered accordingly. — As all things in this quarter remain as you left them, I have nothing to add, but my best wishes for your Succeſs and Safe return, and with my respects to M^r^ Hackenwelder and Major Hamtramck, I remain with great respect and Esteem

Sir

Your most Obd^t^ Serv^t^

JA. WILKINSON
B General

P S. You will oblige me highly, and will confer a particular favor on Judge Innes of Kentucky, if you can at the treaty which may be held discover and redeem, or put the Buſineſs in train for the redemption of a Mulatto Fellow and two Black Fellows all Slaves, taken from his Improvement on Elk Horn near Frankfort in Kentucky about the 25^th^ of May JA. W.

Brig^r^ Gen^l^ PUTNAM.

LETTER FROM MAJOR HAMTRAMCK

FORT KNOX VINCENNES August 31st 1792

Sir

I Suppose you have received the letter which I had the honor of writing you by the Expreſs who returned to the Rapids of the Ohio, Since which I have Sent to Different tribes of Indians agreeably to your Direction —

it Certainly is very mortifying to Make overtures of peace to the Indians while the ground is yet Reeking with the blood of our Meſsengers, But as it is the Intention of Goverment to Effect a truce for a Final general treaty, and that this war is so disagreeable to the people of the United States, I have every expectation that you will Be able (through this channel) to bring the affair to a pacific Conclusion

I Suppose that you will meet with great Difficulties in aſcending the Wabash: I think that the Most expeditious way, would be to leave a part of your Effects on the Margin of the River with a Small guard and for the pirogues to return immediately —

I have Sent all the men I Could Spare which is fifty one, and a Frenchman to each pirogue —

I have the Honor to be
Sir with very great
Respect your Most obedient
and Very humble Servent —
J F HAMTRAMCK

Brigd G. PUTNAM —

LETTER FROM GENERAL WILKINSON

FORT WASHINGTON
Sept: 8th 1792

Sir

I arrived at this place last Evening from the out Parts, & had the pleasure to receive the enclosed letters & papers for you, which I have sent forward to Louisville, to go from thence expreſs to Fort Knox, where I trust in God they may find you in health, & progreſsing to your satisfaction, in the important Buſineſs on your Hands. —

I have recently made a tour to the unfortunate Field of Action, where I discovered a Six & a three Pound piece of Braſs ordinance; from thence I pushed forward a reconnitring Party, (properly provided for taking the course & distance), to the St Marys, the nearest part of which by the Indian path is forty miles from the Field of Action — this party marched fifty one Miles, when they came to a very noted Sugar Camp, known to one of them, & on the East side of the St Marys, about eight Miles from the Junction of that River & the St Joseph — I have now every thing to be wished for, relativly to that Route. — From the Field of Action, I fell back on Genl. St Clairs trace about eight miles, to free me from the Ponds & Marshes, formed by the Head Waters of the Wabash, & then Steering an E. S. E. course, I turned the Sources of the Western Branch of the Big Miami, which I find navigable above Fort Jefferson, (& in a N. E. b. N. direction from that Post,) about Sixteen miles. I descended that stream twenty miles, & found the Bed thereof, from one hundred to one hundred & twenty yards wide, flat & free from rapids — I have in Person & by detachments, fully explored the Coun-

try between the Miami & Genl S^t^ Clairs Route, and find that He was much too far to the Westward — which not only increased the distance but threw Him into bad ground — a South course run from a Point about ten Miles East of Fort Jefferson, struck Fort Hamilton exactly; I marched myself further East in ordor to examine the River, which bears S. E. & N. W. and after leaving it & runing upon courses from S. S. E. to S. b. W. struck the main River about Six Miles above Hamilton — — if theſe details answer no other purpose, they may amuse you for a moment. —

A Woman taken on the 4^th^ of November, (Mary M^c^Knight) escaped from the Enemy & after fifteen days travel, gained fort Jefferson on the 30^th^ Ult^mo^. I got no satisfaction from Her, as she appeared to be uninformed, was reduced to a Skeleton & withal was very ill — She informed me however that most of the Indians had gone to Detroit, but that Several Parties of Pottawatamies had gone off to attend a Treaty which they heard was to be held at S^t^ Vincennes, — one of theſe Parties a few days before, I verily believe fired upon Fort Jefferson — . —

My last Letters from Genl. Wayne are under the date of the 5^th^ Ult^mo^, & I now transcribe & enclose the Copy [1] of the most Interesting one for your satisfaction — In this, you have every Information I poſseſs, as to the future views, plans or objects of Government — I have rec^d^ no reinforcement, & but a very small quantity of forage has arrived here. I anticipate a terrible deficiency in that article, & was I now to bring the Horſe from Kentucky, they would probably starve before the Spring — I shall therefore continue them where they now are, until the

[1] Page 330.

Dragoons arrive, and as for the Chickaſaws I can find no employ for them until offensive operations are recommenced. I shall therefore continue to rest the Security of our Convoys & the Duties of Scouting & recconnitring, upon the Kentucky Corps, which will be kept up. —

The Enemy continue their depradations, generally from this to the head of the River, in small predatory parties; Barbee [?] pursued a party which had stolen fourteen of his Horſes, overtook them, killed one & recovered his Cattle — in the same manner a ſecond has been killed by the Militia of Columbia — and the Rifle Corps is now in pursuit of a strong party, which stole thirty or forty of the Q^r M^rs & Contractors Horſe from Fort Hamilton, the night before last. — I do not recollect any thing I can add, worthy your attention. I therefore with the warmest wishes for your succeſs in your Miſsion, & for your safe return, am with sincere respect & regard

Dear Sir Y^r Obd Sv^t

JA. WILKINSON

Gen^l PUTNAM

pray remember me to Mr. Hackenwelder.

COPY OF LETTER FROM GENL WAYNE TO GENERAL WILKINSON

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

PITTSBURGH 5th August 1792

Sir

Since writing you on the 31st Ultimo I have been honored with yours of the 12th of July, enclosing copies of letters to the Secretary of war, and other papers; I am obliged by your ideas, respecting the Enemy we have to contend with, which perfectly, coincide with my own, but I fear, that the ſeason will

paſs over previously, to our knowing the Ultimate intentions of the Hostile Indians, with respect to peace, or War, — nor can we attempt any thing, untill that event is known, altho from present appearances, there can be but little expectation of an Honorable and lasting peace, with a victorious, haughty and insidious enemy, — Stimulated, by British emiſsaries, to a continuence of the war, — or to dictate, terms of peace, perhaps, disgraceful to the American Character; — but, such was the prevailing disposition of a decided Majority in Congreſs — that goverment, was compeled to adopt the measure, of attempting every poſsible means of procuring peace, — previously, to any Hostile operation.

I fear that Major Trueman, and Colonel Harding, have been Martyrs to this State policy, — the account brought by M^r^ Vigo from S^t^ Vincennes of their murder, is too strongly corroborated, by recent intelligence, by way of Detroit, & Niagara. M^r^ Rosecrantz, who is on a miſsion to, & with, the five nations, writes on the 19^th^ Ultimo, that a veſsel has Just arrived from *Detroit*, in which was an Indian from the mouth of the Miami, of Lake Erie, who says, that an officer, and one man bearing a *flag*, were killed on their way to the Council of Hostile Indians, but that the interpreter — who spoke the Delaware language very well, was saved, and carried in as a prisoner. Should this be really the case, it will soon be authenticated; as the five Nations have sent Cap^t^ Henry, a famous chief of the Unadago nation, with a meſsage from themselves, and a talk from the *President* of the United States, to the hostile Indians, and from whom, they expected to hear every hour. — Rosecrantz, waits his return. Nothwithstand[ing] all this, I have very little expectation; of any real intention,

in the hostile Indians, for a permanent peace — and therfore wish, it were poſsible, to secure a very large quantity of hay at Fort Jefferson.

My intention, was, to reinforce you, with the three companies of Rifle men mentioned in my last, immediately, but, unfortunately, their Clothing is not yet arrived at this place; owing to some unaccountable neglect. I expect the Dragoons for two troops of Cavalry, at this place, in the course of a few days. They marched from Trenton & Fredrick town, between the 20th & 24th Ultimo. the moment they arrive, I will arm them with Muskets, & Bayonets, and order them to descend the river for Fort-Washington, carrying with them, the arms and accoutrements, for the Cavalry, — you will therfore please, to give the neceſsary orders for the Horse, upon which they are to be mounted, — (that have been purchased by the Deputy Q. M. G. in Kentucky) to be collected at ſome ſafe, and convenient place for the purpose; you may certainly expect them to Join you, within two weeks, after the recᵗ of this — & probably, the Rifle corps about the same time, or withiñ twenty days at farthest, which I presume, will be as early as you could poſsibly obtain Volunteer Rifle Corps, from Kentucky.

But, as the timely arrival of these troops is eventual, you are hereby authorised, to *retain* the Hundred mounted Volunteers from *Kentucky*, untill Joined by the troops before mentioned, and if you can do the buſineſs, without risking too much, do exert every nerve, to ſecure as great a quantity of hay as poſsible, at Fort Jefferson.

I do not know what number of *Chickasaws* are expected at *Nashville* — Should the war progreſs, or that, in your opinion — these Indians will be ser-

viceable, — you may order them to Join you; of this however, you are constituted the Judge, & will act accordingly; The troops collect very Slow — but I am informed by the Secretary of War, that a considerable number of recruits, are now on their march from the Several States, to form a Junction at this place.

I have the honor to be with ſincere esteem
your most obed^{t}
& very humble Servant
(Signed) ANT^{Y} WAYNE

The Honorable
Brig^{r} General
JAMES WILKINSON

SPEECH TO THE EEL RIVER AND WEYA INDIANS

Brothers
of the Eel River, and Weya Tribes —

I thank the great ſpirit that has given us an oppertunity to See and ſpeek to one another at this time — Brothers — you have ben long mourning for your frinds and relations, but this day reſtores them to your arms.

The Great Chief of the United States always wiſhes to make people happy, and therefore as ſoon as he was informed of your agreement with Major Hamtramck he imediately, gave order that all your frinds who ware with us ſhould be reſtored to you. And you may rest aſsured, that, from my heart, I feal happy in haveing had the honour to put this ordor in execution, & bringing your frinds and relations to meet you here. —

Brothers of the Weyas

one of your Chiefs has died while on a visit to ſee his family. on this account I See tears in your eyes, but I have buried your Chief with all the reſpect due to a Chief of my own Nation. permit me then to

wipe all tears from your Eyes, weep no longer for the Dead but rejoice in the living

VINCENNES, Sept 13th 1792 R PUTNAM

addition all general matters will be attended to when the Chiefs of the Several tribes expected ſhall arrive in the mean time you will retire to your Village up the river and you will have notice when the other Chiefs arrive —

COPY OF AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF VINCENNES

Publiſhed both in Engliſh & French

By Rufus Putnam Esquire, one of the Judges in and over the Teritory Northwest of the River Ohio Brigadier General in the Army of the United States, and Agent for treating with the Indians —

To the inhabitants of the Town of Vincennes Frinds and fellow Cittizens.

it is preſumed that none of you are Ignorent, that a treaty is about to be holden with the Indians at this place, and that for ſome time paſt they have ben collecting for that purpos. nor can any of you be uninformed of the Law that prohibits the Selling any Spiritious liquors to Indians and it must be obvious to every one who will reflect on the Subject that this Law is founded on the principles of Morrallity and humanity and therfore ought at all times most relegiously to be obſerved, but more eſpecially at the preſent time. — I do therefore with the Solicitude of a frind as well the authority of a Magistrate, forbid all perſons, of whatever degree, thoſe who have obtained licence for tradeing with them as well as others from Selling Spiritious liquors to the Indians untill the treaty which is about to be holden Shall

be concluded — And all officers Civil and Military are called on in an eſpecial maner to exert them ſelves in detecting and bringing to puniſhment all offenders, and the people in general are reminded that it is their duty, and that all good Citizens will not only keep the law themſelves but uſe their endevor to have the tranſgreſser puniſhed — But Should any be So lost to their duty and Intrest as to perſist in tranſgreſsion under an Idea that no conviction can be had on the testimony of an Indian Witneſs; they are informed that on Such evidence or on Circumſtances that give reaſonabl ground of Suſpition I Shall not hisetate to take the party Suspected and his licquors into custoday Securing the latter in the public maggazean untill the treaty is over, and laying the party under Bonds or for want of Sureties commit him, her or them to priſon

Given under my hand at Post Vincent this 16th day of September 1792

R PUTNAM

A Copy —

A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT A COUNCIL HELD WITH THE INDIANS OF THE WABASH AND ILLINOIS AT POST VINCENTS, BY BRIGADIER GENERAL PUTNAM

In consequence of General Putnams Speech of the 24th of July last,[1] the following Tribes viz[t] Eel-River, Weaughtenows, Powtawattemows, Kekawpoos, Peankeshaws, Musquetans & Kaskaskias, met him in the Councill Houſe at Post Vincents at 10 °Clock in the forenoon of the 24th Day of September 1792.

After a profound silence, General Putnam addreſsed them:

[1] Page 307.

Brothers ! Let us Smoke a Pipe of Friendship. Tobacco being presented & Pipes being lit by an Interpreter, he Shook hands with all present, beginning with those who live in the East, and ending with those who live in the West ; according to custom on those occaſions. after which he read by Periods the following Speech viz^{t} —

Brothers of the Eel-River, Weaughtenows, Powtawattemows, Kakawpoos, Peankeshaws, Musquetons and Kaskaskias.

I congratulate you on our first meeting together this day. My Speeches which I sent you 60 Days ago have reached you, and you are now come to hear what I have to say to You. We meet one another for a good purpose ; and the great Spirit who has preserved our Lives to this day, where we see one another face to face, and shake hands together, will be witneſs to all our Transactions. We meet together on no strange Ground. It is the ground on which Your Anceſtors have kindled a Council-fire, and where You since have often met and Smoked the Pipe of Peace. This fire must always be kept burning bright, so that You and Your Allies may see it and meet one another at all times without difficulty or fear ; there to Smoke the Pipe of Friendship and Love.

Brothers

I roſe from the great Council-Fire of the United-States four Months ago. There I saw the Chiefs of the five-Fires, and the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation smoke the Pipe of Peace with the great Chief of the United States, General Washington. The Fire was burning bright, and all that were arround it felt happy. The great Chief wished this happineſs to extend to all Nations. His Council-Fire is kindled

for the benefit of all Nations. He loves to see his Brothers, to talk and Smoke with them.

Brothers

While the great Chief General Washington was thus joyful with his Brothers that were with him, he looked around, and saw with Sorrow that some of his distant Brothers could not enjoy this happineſs with him at present. He observed that a dark Cloud had sprung up between them and the United-States some time ago; and that this Cloud had darkened the Sky so much; that his Brothers and the People of the United States could not distinguish one another, but stumbled against each other, and struck the Tomhock in each others heads.

Brothers!

The great Chief wishing to have this dark Cloud removed and dispersed — to see the Tomhock drawn out of the heads of each other and buried in the Deep — To take each other by the hand anew, and establish a good and lasting Friendship between all his Brothers and the United States: has appointed me his Agent for this Purpose. I am therefore come to You in confidence that we shall be able to accomplish this great Work, and I may then return again to the great Chief with Aſsurances of Friendship and Peace.

Brothers

I told You in my Speech which I sent You; that when I came I should bring Your Women and Children with me, and return them to their Friends — They are now with You.

Brothers!

I shall always speak to You from my Heart, not from my Lip's only — Speak also from Your Hearts — Tell me the cauſe of Your Uneasineſs, and I will endeavor to remove it.

The above Speech being Interpreted by Periods to the several Tribes by William Wells, Renè Coder, Captn Mayet and John Baptist Constant, their respective Interpreters; General Putnam delivered them a bunch of white Wampum containing Six Strings.

After a long Silence, a Chief of the Eel River Tribe roſe — shook hands, and after apologizing for being Sick, said:

My Older Brother!

All Your Brothers have heard You and rejoice at what You have said — I shall say no more at present, but we will consult among ourselves, and will return You an Answer tomorrow — You are right, by saying that we meet one another on no strange ground — It is the very place where our former Chiefs met and smoked together. (retired)

Next a Chief of the Weaughtenows roſe, shook hands and said.

My Older Brother!

I am very glad that what I always told the Nations, is come to paſs.

My Older Brother

I never told a falsehood to my Father the French, nor to my Brothers the Americans — We are all glad at what You have said, and will consider upon it, and give You an Answer to-morrow.

Another Chief of the Weaughtenows roſe and desired the Nations not to detain the General, but to dispatch the Buſineſs.

Another Chief of the same Nation roſe, shook hands and said to General Putnam — You, Major Hamtramck and Mr Prior, told me there would be a Treaty: Now it is come to paſs: and we are met for that purpose — At such important meetings delib-

eration and time are neceſsary — Let us not then be in too great a hurry — We will consider with one another upon it, and return an Answer to Your Speech.

A Chief of the Poutewattemows next roſe, shook hands & said:

Father!

All white People who have hitherto spoken to Us, always called Us Children: I shall therefore call You Father. We are all Your Children — You have spoken well to Us — You have spoken from Your Heart — We will likewiſe Speak from our Hearts — I am glad at this Opportunity of speaking to You — The great Spirit directed right that we should meet on *this* ground — It is ours althò we have a Yellow Skin, and not Yours; — but when we have a mind to give away any, we will do it — (shook hands) and added: — to morrow we will Answer Your Speech

A Kekapoo Chief roſe & said

My Older Brother

What I have to say, has already been said by those who spoke before me — We shall Answer fully to-morrow — We now wish to retire; our Women and Children being hungry.

A Chief of the Kaskaskias Tribe, John Baptist Ducoigne roſe and shook hands with Ceremony; then said:

My Older Brother

I shall always call You my older Brother — I rejoice from my Heart to see You — My body is not only come here; my Heart is also here to speak to You — I rejoice to see the Indian Nations take You by the hand — I always recommended to them, to be friends to Congreſs, General Washington and all the Americans — I now desire them to listen with

attention to what is said to them, and to return You an Answer sincerely — I mean to do so for my own part — (shook hands and retired)

A Queen of the Weaughtenows roſe, and shaking hands with Geñeral Putnam, apologized for her Sons' not being here; saying: They are wicked when they are drunkk — They have done a great deal of Mischief — Yet she should say something for them. Their Older Brothers (meaning the Miamis &c Indians) spurr'd them to do mischief — They were not therefore altogether to blame.

A Peorian Chief roſe and shook hands in Ceremony: then said:

My Older Brother

I wish men of more Sense than I am, would riſe and speak; yet I will say something — The Old Chiefs make me strong — Upon You I look as my Friend — I will stand by You — The old Chiefs will hear and make You an Answer — The white People have more sense than we, who have a Yellow Colour — They were made first, and they ought to be hearkened to. (retired)

General Putnam then roſe and addreſsed the Tribes thus:

Brothers! You are very right in postponing the Answer till to-morrow; and if You want more time, You shall have it. Now we will drink a Dram together, and retire for to day.

Adjourned at 2 °Clock.

The Council met at 10 °Clock forenoon 25th September.

Some old Diplomas, Paſses and Recommendations were presented by several Indians, which after perusing, General Putnam returned again. — then —

Ducoigne a Chief of the Kaskaskias roſe with a

long Pipe, well adorned and lit, addreſsing the General:

My Older Brother

You are now to smoke with us out of the Pipe of Peace of our Ancesters — He next held the Pipe to the General to smoke, and then to evry person present; in Ceremony — In the mean time a Weaughtenow Chief rose and said:

My Older Brother

Permit us to deliver our Answer to Your Speech, through our Younger Brother of Kaskaskias (Ducoigne) for thò he is Young, he is the best Speaker; and therefore we have chosen him to speak our Sentiments. He is unanimously chosen by all the Tribes present for that Purpoſe.

Ducoigne then came forward with the same Pipe in his hands & made the following speech. —

My Older Brother, (shaking the Generals hands in his with great fervour)

All my Brothers listen to me. we shall now talk of fair weather. —

My older Brothers, Congreſs, General Washington & all Americans open your ears and pay attention to what I ſhall say. We all, together with our Queens, present you with this Pipe, which has never been stained. It will incline you to respect truth, and to pay attention to what I say. We all have one heart. I am called upon to speak truth from that heart. We wish you to conceal nothing; to speak truth and make the hearts of our women & children glad. —

My Older Brother.

Be strong. We are come to talk of Peace. Be strong.

My older Brother.

Take this Pipe and present it to the great Chief

General Washington. We expect that he will smoke out of it. (He here presented the pipe to General Putnam.) then he took up a large Belt, with thirteen diamonds wrought in it, and turning to the Indians addreſsed them as follows. —

You my Brothers of all nations present: I am glad you are aſsembled here. I call upon you to hearken to what I say to our Brother of the United States. Pay good attention to the Speech made to us yesterday by our older Brother. I should have been glad if matters had remained as they were in the days of the French. Then, all the Country was clear & open. — (He repeated the same words again) — Then turning to the General and shaking hands with him he said,

My Older Brother.

The French English & Spainards never took any lands from us. We expect the same of you. —

My older Brother,

These are the sentiments of the Indian Tribes. We would regret the loſs of our beds. The Author of life created us on these lands; and we wish to live and die on them. — No person can take them from us but he who gave them to us

My older Brother.

Were the French, English or Spainards to attack us, what would become of us. We request of you never to usurp our Lands. Neither to destroy our Game. —

My older Brother,

I tell you the plain truth. Our Lands have been stained with blood, which grieves us. But now we are glad. you are come for the purpose of Peace. —

My Older Brother,

Do not blame us for striking you. It was the Eng-

lish that gave us the Tomhock to strike you. You cannot be ignorant of the cause of the war. —
My older Brother.

This war has destroyed many of our People who would otherwise be here, but I am convinced you will wipe off the stains that have been made on our lands. This is the wish of all of us. —
My older Brother,

You are many and so are we. Were we on the same land we might quarrel. It is best that the white People live in their own Country & we in our's. Formally our Lands were extensive. Now they are but small. Therefore we wish to keep what we have. We desire of you to remain on the other side of the river Ohio. These are the sentiments of all the Chiefs & Warriors.
My Older Brother,

Observe how clear the sky is today. — It is a good Omen. It has been clear, since we began to speak. It promises that our negociation will succeed. Which is the ardent wish & defire of all the Tribes here present. —
My older Brother,

The English & Spainards by giving us goods endeavour to keep us strangers to you. — It is the cause that there are no more of us here. — We desire you to consider our Poverty, and to send us something every spring to make us comfortable. — You have it in your power to render us all happy, and to rejoice our women & children. We desire you to send Traders among us.
My Older Brother,

Here is the belt — (now he delivers it) — which we request you to deliver to the great Chief General Washington. Salute him from us all; and tell him that all have made peace.

My Older Brother,

As to myself I fear you. — I am acquainted with your strength. Nobody can overset you; the great Spirit has ordered it so. I wish to live in peace with you always. —

My Older Brother,

All these Chiefs have named me to speak their sentiments, 'tho I am the Youngest. Now I have finished this Talk. —

He then turned to the Tribes and strongly recommended to them to pay attention to what their older Brother General Putnam said. — To leave off stealing Horses from the Americans, whom they reduced to the neceſsity of hoeing instead of plowing. He wished all evils to cease. To walk in the road that was now open & clear. — Made a bow to the General & retired. —

A Chief of the Weaughtenows rose and said,

My older Brother,

I wish to say something in behalf of this Chief who has just spoken. He being a man of sense we chose him to speak our sentiments. He has fulfilled it faithfully. — You know now our sentiments respecting lands. All I have to say is to ask you to take pity on our women & children.

He then said he was to speak for a Chief who had a pain in his back. —

My older Brother,

The words I will speak are the sentiments of my heart. Let us from this time lay every evil aside. I have no more to say. He presented two strings of white Wampum. — N° 1 [1]

And turning to the nations urged the neceſsity of

[1] This and subsequent numbers refer to the list of *Extracts of Indian Speeches per Journal* which follows.

Peace. He recommended to them to follow the advice of the Chief who died lately, who had always advised them to peace. —

A Powtowattemow Chief rose and said.

My Father,

I have but little to say. Our younger brother has told you our sentiments. I will do as he does. You see, my Father, how clear the sky is. It is a good sign. — In the days of the French we lived in peace. Since the English and the Americans became our fathers we have had wars. —

My Father,

I rejoice in what you have told us. All of us are glad to see you among us this day. We ſhall always be happy to see you, but never take our lands from us. This is all I have to say; To-morrow I ſhall open my heart wider, and tell you more. He shook hands, then called up two young Chiefs of the Musquetons, informed General Putnam, that he was to speak for them, they being young & bashful. — They presented four long white strings which they said they received from General S^{t} Clair, saying they were clean & they had kept them so. — N^{o} 2

Another young Chief rose and said,

My older Brother,

I am too young to speak; but I will do what you desire of me — He presented several Papers. —

An Ottowey Chief rose and said,

My Older Brother,

This is the first time you have seen me. Gen^{l} S^{t} Clair has seen me and spoke to me. — I have followed his advice. I am glad the sky is clear. I am indeed glad of it: We are all glad. I will tell my nation all I shall hear you say. —

A Chief of the Eel-river Tribe rose and said,
My Older Brother,

I return thanks to the United States for what you have done. The hearts of us Indians are all placed on the left side: Therefore I ſhake hands with the left hand. I ſhall speak with my mouth but I ſhall tell you the sentiments of my heart. — My bed has been disturbed (aluding to Gen[l] Wilkinsons Expedition.) — here he delivered two strings of black wampum. And took up two of white saying, N° 3

My Older Brother,

Now all darkneſs is removed. The sky is clear and I can speak with chearfulneſs. The reason why we spoke by our brother of the Kaskaskies is because he is wise, & acquainted with the United States. Sometimes the younger Brothers have more sense than the Older. We expect the great Chief General Washington will smoke out of the good pipe presented to you in behalf of our tribes. (pointing to the pipe on the Table) — And that he may see the smoak rise upwards out of it; an effect produced by the clearneſs of the sky. —

My older Brother,

Fulfil what you have said on your part, & we will on ours. All our women and children will rejoice then. Perhaps the great Spirit is now looking down upon us. You told us he would be witneſs to every thing we did. Perhaps he is so now. We desire of you to make us known to General Washington and request of him to confirm all you have said. Continue as you have begun: Speak always the truth. Your Brothers will likewise do so. You have told us good things. You have desired us to bury the Tomhock. It is true we have made use of it, but it did not originate with us. It was sent to us by the nations who

are now at war with you. We now bury it behind us in the Deep. The great Spirit sees we do it. —
My Older Brother,

Our Father the French never craved our Lands. Why ſhould any person do otherwise. Perhaps were any person to rob us of our Lands it would provoke the great Spirit. It was he that placed us upon them. We think it best for you to live Yonder, with your faces towards us, and we to live here with our faces towards you. When we want to go to see you we can go thither; & when you want to come & see us you can come hither. —
My Older Brother,

We are indeed glad you appointed this Council Fire for the place of our meeting. The road is now open for you & the nations of the Wabash to meet & see one another at this place. He shook hands & retired. —

A chief of the Weaughtenows rose and said.
My Older Brother, (leading up a Queen of his nation)

I am to speak for this Queen. If I should say any wrong, I beg to be forgiven. I promised to the Commandant of this place, that when my father the American would come, I ſhould come to speak to him of peace. This woman, who is my sister wishes that this land may no more be stained with blood. She desires you to keep at a distance. He then presented for her four white strings. N° 4

He next turned to the nations and desired them to take pity on their women and children. To respect peace, that they might live, as they formarly did; and he retired. —

Another Chief of the same nation rose and said.
My Older Brother,

I shall take hold of this great Chiefs hands with

both mine, for I rejoice at what he has told us. Then taking hold of Gen[l] Putnams hands he went on. —

I believe sincerely what you have said. I am a great war Captain. I confirm the Speech which Ducoigne delivered for us at our request.

My Older Brother

The great Spirit made you. Perhaps we are sprung from the Fish (ſhook hands saying)

I can say with truth I never struck the white People. —

My Older Brother,

This has always been a place where we have aſsembled to counsel, and it is to remain so. Our Ancestors have prepared this place for that purpose. Much buſineſs of importance has been transacted here. — And now, perhaps, those who are dead & buried beneath where we are sitting look up to us. —

My Older Brother,

The great Spirit placed us upon this land. I hope therefore we will enjoy it in peace. Do not any more set fire to our Towns. The French never did so. —

My Older Brother,

You have rendered us all happy. We thank you for all the good words you have spoken to us. We expect you will render us still more so, before you leave us. — I have no reason to fear I never hurt anybody. — (ſhook hands & retired.) —

A Kekapoo Chief rose with a long Pipe adorned & lit, which he held to the General to smoke out of it, and then handed it round the council in ceremony. — He then said,

My Older Brother,

I am young and cannot speak loud. I am of the same mind with my older Brothers who have spoken. It was they who put me in the right road. —

My Older Brother,

Out of this Pipe of Peace many have smoked. Observe how the smoke rises up straight in the sky. — It is a token that everything will be clear. I expect the great Chief General Washington will smoke out of it. — Every thing now has the appearance of peace. It is true there has been blood spilt on the Wabash. We hope it will never more be the case. —

My Older Brother,

The sentiments of our tribe have been made known to you already by our Brother Ducoigne. I have only to add, that since on both sides there are foolish people, it is best for us to live at a distance. — I wish you to remain on the other side of the Ohio; But yet we wish to have a trade with you. —

My Older Brother

Since we have met together for the purpose of speaking with one another: and of establishing a peace. We ought to speak our sentiments freely and do the buſineſs compleatly. —

(He then shook hands and retired) —

A Peorian Chief rose, shook hands & said.

My Older Brother,

I come in to speak the last, and may be compared with a Stearsman. I shall therefore act as such and keep the *Perogue* straight.

My Older Brother,

I am glad the sky is clear. While you spoke my heart was glad. I am now truely rejoiced. I take fast hold of the United States. as I do of your two hands. — ſhook hands with fervour. —

My Older Brother,

I hope the land will be as clear as the sky: and the fires in every Vilage will burn bright. —

He presented three short white strings N° 5

My Older Brother,

Continue as you have begun. Wipe off all the stains. Make our women & children happy. Whatever you do this with will please them, and they and our children will gather it up. — Consider our poverty. — And send us something for our women and children every spring. — He retired.

A Peankeshaw Chief rose and jocosely said,

The great Chief, who has spoken to us wants peace and I want a wife. If he will give me a wife I will give him peace. Then

He shook hands heartily and went on.

My Older Brother,

I am of the same way of thinking with my brothers here who have spoken already. — Our Ancestors were buried here and this is the proper place for us to speak in. —

My Older Brother.

You have called us from a-far; And since we came you have rejoiced our hearts. We hope you will consider the want of our women and children before you leave us; for we are all very poor

My Older Brother,

I agree with those who spoke before me, that the Whites should remain on the other side of the Ohio.

He delivered two white strings, and retired. — N° 6

General Putnam then rose and said,

Brothers.

I have listened to all you have said. I have treasured it up in my heart. — To-morrow I shall give you an answer. —

Brothers, We shall now drink a glaſs and retire till to-morrow.

Adjourned at 3 OClock afternoon. —

In Council 10 OClock forenoon 26th Septr

A Chief of the Powtowattemows rose and said,

I desire my Father the American and all my Brothers to pay attention to what I am going to say.

When I received the meſsage that a great Chief would arive here from the United States; And that he wished to speak to us, I expected the buſineſs would be of another nature, not that I find it to be. I did not expect that we would spend our time in speaking of Land, as I find the case to be — I have often been asked by the British to sell them Land, but Merchandize never tempted me — I never yet have hearkened to thoſe who came to speak of buying Lands — I foresaw, that if I parted with my land, I should reduce the Women and Children to weeping — If your Land was dear to You, why did You give it away — Were my Father to meet me on my ground, I would give him a better treatment — Then turning to General Putnam, he said: My Father

I never took the Tomhock of the British all last War — The French and Spaniards desired me never to take it against the United-States, but to live in Peace with them — It is my Intention — You see the Sky is clear; — And since we all wish that every one were happy, and every stain wiped off the ground; and the Blood washed away: let us join together and bury the Tomhock forever — Let all past mischief be forgotten.

(He shook hands and turning to the Tribes said) You know I have no complaints to make to the United-States for lost Women and Children as you have — Whenever I went to War, it was again against my own colour — Alter Your Conduct — Let the Tomhock remain forever burried — Have pity

on Your Women and Children — Chiefs, encourage Your Young Men to Peace! — Young Men listen to Your Chiefs! — Hearken to each other, and aſsist one another in that which is good.

He next took up two white Strings, and said he was to speak the sentiments of the Musquetons Tribe, whose Chiefs, (tho' present) were bashful; requesting of the General not to be offended if they said anything that might be disagreeable. —
He took one of theſe Chiefs forward, and shaking hands began.

I shall always do as my own Father has done, who lived in Peace with the White People — I think as all good Men ought to do — I live on my own River quietly by Hunting; and my Women are employed in raising Corn — The French who always paſs through my Country, shew Charity to the Women and Children — I wish it may always remain so — My Heart is pleased at what you have said — It is placed where Decoign's is — I shall do as he does.

(: Presented two white strings and shook hands:)
N° 7.

He then brought forward the other Chief and said. My Father

Altho *I* never went to War on You, yet because You sent for me, I came — I will hearken and pay evry attention to all You *have* said, and what You *may* say to me; and carry Your Words to my Village. — Shook hands & presented 2 strings. N° 8

A Young Chief of the Potawattemows rising, said: My Older Brother!

I agree to all that has been said by Ducoigne — I have heard Your Sentiments and my Heart is glad — I will report them in my Village — I now salute

You, and form an acquaintance with You — (presented 2 white Strings) N° 9

The Tribes having now said all they had to say at the opening of this days Council; and all being seated: General Putnam roſe, and made the following Speech.

Brothers of the Eel-River &c as before

After You had lit the Pipe of Peace Yesterday, you told me that the Sky was very clear — That we now would Smoke together, and should observe that the Smoke would ascend straight upwards — You then gave me the Pipes, and desired me to present them to our great Chief General Washington, that he might also smoke out of them.

Brothers

You next told me: that You had desired Your Younger brother to speak the sentiments of all the Nations present — You said that altho' he was Young, he was capable of speaking best — I listened to him attentively; and shall report all he has said to me; and deliver the Belt you gave me, to the great Chief General Washington at the same time when I shall present the Pipes to him

Brothers

When we first met together the sky was indeed very clear as You had observed to me — but in the course of our Councill, I discovered a Cloud had arisen in some obscure part of the Sky, which prevented my understanding what You meant by part of what You had said to me.

Brothers

Let us understand one another right — You told me it was best for the White People to remain in their Country, and You in Yours — You said: as the Whites were a powerful People, they ought to live at

a distance from You — You said, that the Americans had best remain on the other side of the Ohio.
Brothers

Speak plain that I may understand You, and there be no mistake made — Do you mean that we shall get up from this place and other Settlements on the Miſsisippi, and go over the Ohio? Do you mean that this Garrison which is built for the Protection of the Settlement and Trade, shall be evacuated?
Brothers

I have often heard that You had permitted Your Father the French to sit down on the Wabash River a great many Years ago, and had given him Lands to raiſe Corn on, and a range for his Cattle — I have since heard: that when Your Fathers Family had encreased, and you saw them so much crowded: that You then extended their limits, so that they might have land enough to raise Corn, and Range enough for their Cattle — I also heard that the caſe was nearly the same with the other Settlements on the Miſsisippi.
Brothers

Let me inform You, that the United-States are bound to protect all its subjects — And since their Alliance with France, are become as one People. They live not only here in this place together; but are so throughout the United-States.
Brothers.

The United-States do not want to take away Your lands — When You become their true Friends, they will become Your Protectors — They will protect You in your lands, and in your Hunting — They will never take any of Your lands away from You, against your consent. But if at any time You should wish to sell any of them, they will buy them of You honestly.

Brothers

When the White People give away a thing, they never ask for it back again — And what they have once sold, they never any more look upon it as theirs

Brothers

I now desire You to inform me, how far your lands extend up and down the Ohio. I wish also to know how much land You have given to the French at this place. I wish to know the grants and Sales you have made to the Settlements on the Miſsisippi.

Brothers.

You have wise men among You — These will consult one another on these weighty matters, and give me a plain Answer. (Strings of white Wampum)

The above being Interpreted by the Interpreters of the respective tribes, General Putnam requested of all those [who] felt themselves interested to return a direct answer to which they agreed. —

Adjourned at 2 OClock.

In Council Afternoon —

Ducoigne rose with two strings of white Wampum, shook hands and addreſsed himself to the Tribes: saying,

Brothers,

This is not a new thing for us to meet to counsil together It has been the custom of our Ancestors always.

Then turning to General Putnam, ſhook hands and said. —

My older Brother,

Be aſsured all the Chiefs here present rejoice at what you have said. — All the Chiefs have put into my mouth the Answer I am to give you. It is not our intention that any persens settled on this side the

Ohio, should move away. — Our request is that no other settlement ſhall be made. —

My older Brother,

Consider, were [we] to sell the graves of our Ancestors would not he who gave us life, and placed us on these lands be displeased. I believe there is no son so unworthy of his Ancestors as to sell the graves they are buried in. Were we to sell our lands, we must sell their graves: and the Game which affords us daily subsistance. — We, therefore, wish you never to take our lands by force. — There is nothing will prevent a lasting peace and friendship between us but your attempting to take our Land from us. Fulfil what you have said — Why would I make a new handle for the Axe? I know it would be impoſsible for us to overcome you in the end. And we believe you have no intention of destroying us. —

My older Brother,

We have already informed you that our Ancestors lighted the fire here first. We are glad now that you have made it up anew. —

My older Brother,

We all wish you to make known to Gen[l] Washington all we have said, and all we have to say yet. —

The whole you will see is; that by leaving us our Lands you secure to yourselves our friendſhip. — We do not wish you to be strangers to us. We wish to be your good Neighbours and you to send Traders among us, to furnish us for our wants as the French, English and Spainards have done. — The white People cloath their women and children ours are running naked. Take pity on them & send something every spring to make them glad. —

He delivered two strings, and introduced a Young

Chief of the Peankashaw tribe, who held two strings of old grey Wampum; saying, N° 10

You see this Wampum. It represents the bones of our Forefathers, who have been dead long ago. — It shows our poverty. You have it in your power to make us happy. —

He delivered the Wampum. — N° 11

Then addreſsing the Indians said,

You who live near the British, shut your ears to all bad things they may tell you. — Never listen to any things they may say to you about the Axe. — If they have a mind to quarrel with our brothers of the United States, let them settle that among themselves. —

(Shook hands with Gen[l] Putnam) —

Our throats are dry. A dram would not hurt us, And after that we will retire to eat. —

A Chief of the Weaughtenows rose & said,

Our Wampum is almost expended; and it seems the buſineſs is near a close. You have got our sentiments in your hands. — They are all true. —

My older Brother,

I am indeed happy that we have met and have made an acquaintance together. — We have said a great deal, but it all tends to peace — You know jelousies are occasioned by many things. — We hope every cause is now removed. — We want Traders among us, who will supply us with our wants: And we hope you will always find something that will make our women and children comfortable. —

My older Brother,

We hope you and the French are as one. — we wish it to be so. —

He shook hands with General Putnam and then recommended peace to all the Tribes. —

And shaking hands with a Powtowattemow Chief said,

We and you live on the Wabash. — We are glad you join with us in peace; and retired. —

The General returned an answer to the Tribes thus,

Brothers,

I have but little to say this time. All the difficulties are now removed except that the Bounds have not been defined, but as that concerns but a few of you, I will not detain others on that account. — I have no doubt but the great Spirit, who witneſses every transaction will direct us to do this with harmony and contentment to all parties. — We will meet to-morrow to transact the main part of the treaty —

Let us now drink a Dram. —

Adjourned in the Afternoon late. —

In Council at 10 OClock forenoon 27th Septr —

A Peankeshaw Chief rose, shook hands and said,

My older Brother,

This is the first time I ever met in council with my brothers of the United States. I ſhall now inform you what has paſsed between our Ancestors and the French. — I am positive my brother the Tobacco and the other Chiefs have long since given a quantity of Land to the French. — We have given to the French the land between Cut-point above the Post and white River below the Post, with as much on each side of the Wabash as there is between those two marks. We have not only given this land to them for themselves only, but also for them, their children and children's children forever. —

My older Brother,

We know nothing of your measures, but depend

we are not come to play, and be laughed at. — We have had this writing and signed it. — And it is to these writings we refer for the truth. — I speak the sentiments of all of us present. —

Another Chief of the same tribe rose and said,

My older Brother,

Be aſsured I never have, nor ever will forget the French. — They are our friends. — They always have furnished us with our wants. — We and They have lived to gether — Our Ancestors and theirs are burried together — What we have given them must remain forever theirs.

My Older Brother

I recommend this matter to You, to General Washington, and to the United States — When the French first came here, we opened the Roads for them — We gave them Lands, and they must never be taken from them — He shook hands and said.

My Older Brother

I hope You will regard and keep the writings sacred which we gave the French — Writings, when they are justly executed never Lye — Let them therefore be respected — (shook hands and retired)

Ducoigne roſe and said; presenting a Young Chief

My Older Brother

Here is a Young Chief whose Father was killed by the People of Kentucky, while he carried them Meat — Nothwithstanding this, he gives You his hand, and forgets the crime. He is my Relation. I wish you would give him a Recommendation from your hand — His Sister is not here, but she will come shortly from the Illinois.

The Chief retired and Ducoigne continues:

My Older Brother.

You have heard our sentiments, and those of the

great Chief Tobacca — Evry one present know they are true — tho some are dead, yet they direct us to confirm what they gave to the French. (shaking hands went on)

My Older Brother

I was the first who took You by the hand — all the others have done so since.

My Older Brother

Our Father the French never took any land from Us on the Miſsisippi. I hope you will do as he did — I never will tell lies, neither will *I* take anything from another — Tell General Washington what I have said — When we hear from him, we will open our Ears wider.

My Older Brother

You know what lands I have given to the French on the Miſsisippi — You know what lands I have given to the Americans

My Older Brother

I expect everything will go well — Report all that has been done and said between us, to the great Chief General Washington — Let us have a Confirmation from him, of what has been done — This is all we have to say. (shook hands fervently and retired :)

General Putnam then roſe, laid the Belts at full length on a Stroud spread over the Table; and after shaking hands with all present; addreſsed them in the follow manner:

Brothers!

We have been for some time past industriously employed in making Peace — I believe all parties are now agreed.

Brothers

The White People commit to writing what they

transact, that the paper may speak when they are dead. Your custom is to record by Belts. We shall do it both ways. Here are now the Articles of the Treaty, to which if we agree; we will subscribe our Names. I will now read it to You.

(: Here come the Articles, which being unanimously agreed to :) General Putnam said:

According to our custom, I will subscribe this in Your presence, and in the presence of the White People here. You will also sign it.

(: They having signed the Articles of the Treaty :) General Putnam roſe, and delivered the following Speech to the Chiefs of the several Tribes.

Brothers &c as before.

Listen to what I say,

We have been for some Days past industriously engaged in a good Work, namely in establishing a *Peace;* And we have happily succeeded thro' the influence of the great Spirit.

Brothers

We have wiped off the Blood — We have burried the Hatchet on both sides; and all what is past, shall be forgotten. (: takes up the Belts :)

Brothers:

This is the Belt of Peace, which I now present You in the Name of the United-States — This Belt shall be the Evidence of, and the Pledge for the performance of the Articles of the Treaty of Peace, which we have concluded between the United-States and Your Tribes this day.

Brothers

Whenever You look on this Belt, remember that there is a perpetual Peace and Friendship between You and Us: And that You are now under the Protection of the United-States.

Brothers
We both hold this Belt in our hands — *Here* at this end the United-States hold it; and You hold it by the other end — The Road, You see is broad, level and clear — We may now paſs to one another easy and without difficulty.
Brothers
The faster we hold this Belt, the happier we shall be — Our Women and Children will have no Occaſion to be afraid any more — Our Young Men will observe, that their Wise Men performed a good Work.
Brothers
Be all strong in that which is good — Abide all in this path Young and Old; and You will enjoy the sweetneſs of Peace. (: delivers the Belts :)
And after some silence says
Brothers
I have brought some cloathing with me for Your Women and Children; and some Amunition for Your young Men to hunt with; which I shall distribute among You, before You go away.

Peace being now Proclaimed; General Putnam informed them: that he should have a piece of Artiliry fired on the Occaſion. and that he would fire the first; and that each of thoſe Chiefs who had received the Belts, should follow his Example. The General fired and the Indians, and white People joined the report with *three* cheers of acclamations.

(: returned to the Council-house :)

General Putnam now told them, thet he would give them Beeves, Bread & Whisky to Feast upon.

(signed) WILLM 'INTOSH sworn Clerk

EXTRACTS OF INDIAN SPEECHES PER JOURNAL

Page 5 — [344] N° 1 Weaughtenows
2 Strings White Waumpum
Page 6 [345] N° 2 — two young Chiefs of
the Musquetons 4 long White
[346] N° 3 Elle River 2 Strings
Black waumpum —
Page 9 — [347] N° 4 Weaughtenow Queen
4 white Strings
page 11 [349] N° 5 — 3 Short White Strings
Peorian Chief

Page 12 — [350] N° 6 Peankeſhaw Chief
2 white Strings

Page 13 — [352] N° 7 Musquetons
2 white Strings
page 14 [352] N° 8 Musquetons
2 white Strings

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page 14 [353] N° 9 — Potawattemows
2 white Strings

Page 18 — [357] N° 10 ducoigne
2 Strings
[357] N° 11 — young Peankashaw
2 Strings Gray Waumpum.

COPY OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WABASH & ILLINOI INDIANS[1]

A Treaty of peace and Frindſhip, made and concluded between the Preſident of the United States of America, on the part of the Said States, and the Un-

[1] This treaty was not confirmed by the Senate, the fourth article being deemed particularly objectionable. For the legislative action concerning it, see the *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate*, vol. i. pp. 128, 134, 135, 144, 145, 146.

derſigned Kings Chiefs and Warriours of the Wabaſh and Illinoi, Indian Tribes on the part and behalf of Said Tribes. —

The parties being deſierous of eſtabliſhing perminent Peace and frindſhip between the United States and the Said Indian Tribes, and the citizens and members thereof and to remove the cauſes of War: The Preſident of the United States, by Rufus Putnam, Jud[g]e of the Teritory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio and Brigadier General in the Army, whome he hath vested with full powers for theſe purpoſes: And the Said Wabaſh and Illinoi Indian Tribes by the Underſigned Kings Chiefs and warriours repreſenting the Said Tribes have agreed to the following articles viz. —

Article First

There ſhall be perpetual peace and frindſhip between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals, villages and tribes of the Said Wabaſh and Illinoi Indians

Article Second

The Underſigned Kings, Chiefs and warriours for themſelves and all parts of there villages and Tribes, do acknowledge themſelves to be under the protection of the United States of America. And Stipulate to live in amity and frindſhip with them. —

Article Third

The Said Tribes Shall deliver as Soon as practicable to the Commanding officer at Fort Knox all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants or negroes who are now priſoners among any of the Said Tribes —

Article Fourth

The United States Solemnly guarantee to the Wabaſh and Illinoi Nations or Tribes, of Indians all the

lands to which they have a just claim, And no part ſhall ever be taken from them but by a fair purchaſe and to their ſatisfaction. That the lands oreginally belong to the Indians, it is theirs and theirs only. that they have a right to Sell and a right to refuse to Sell and that the United States will protect them in there Said just rights —

Article Fifth

The Said Kings Chiefs and Warriours, Solemly promise on their part that no further hoſtilities or depredations Shall be committed by them, or any belonging to the Tribes they repreſent, against the perſons or property of any of the Citizens of the United States: That the practice of Stealing Negroes and Horſes from the people of Kentucke and other inhabitants of the United States ſhall forever hereafter ceaſe. That they will at all times give notice to the citizens of the United States, of any deſignes which they may know, or ſuspect to be formed in any neighbouring Tribe, or by any perſon whatever, against the peace and intrest of the United States —

Article Sixth

In caſes of violence on the perſons or property of the individuals of either party, neither retaliation or repriſal ſhall be committed by the other, untill Satisfaction Shall have ben demanded of the party of which the aggreſsor is, and ſhall have ben refused. —

Article Seventh

All animoſities for past grievances ſhall hence forth ceaſe, and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing Treaty into full execution, with all good faith and Sincerity. —

In Witneſs of all and every thing herein diter-mined between the United States of America and

the Villages and Tribes of The Underſigned Kings Chiefs & Warriours, the parties have hereunto Set their hands and Seals, at Post Vincent on the Wabaſh river This twenty ſeventh day of September one Thouſand seven hundred ninety two

Don in preſence of
J. F. HAMTRAMCK[1]

B GEN[L] PUTNAMS SPEECH TO THE INDIANS

Brothers,

I thank the great Spirit who has inclined our Hearts to do good; and to establish a Peace between You and the United States —

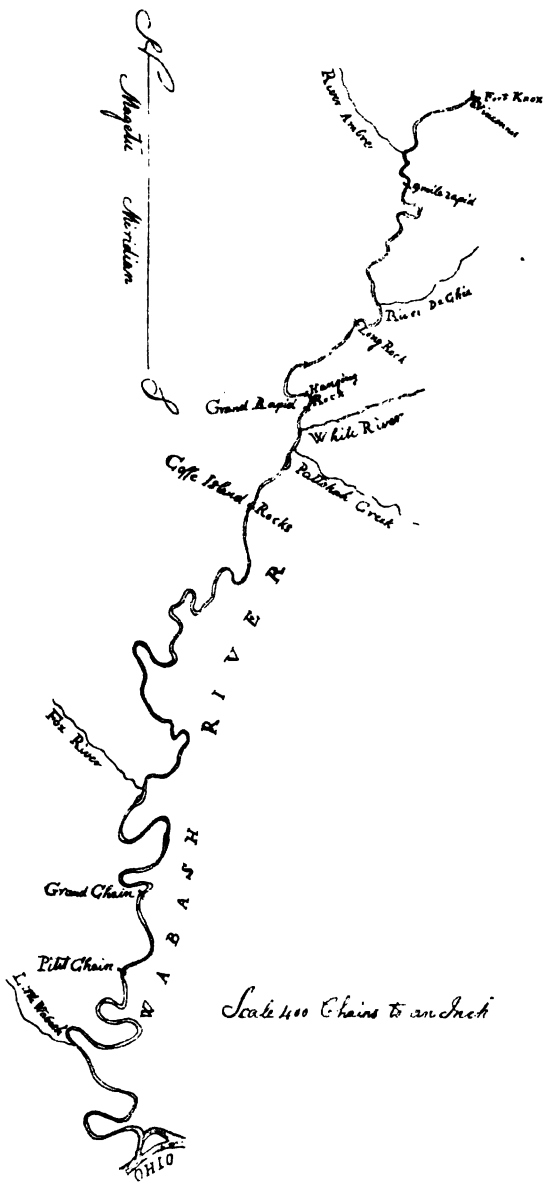
Brothers

Let us endeavour to restore Peace and happineſs to all as far as lies in our Power; and for this purpoſe I request that You will send a Speech to Your Neighbours the Miamis, Dellawares, Shawanos and other Tribes, who have hitherto stopped their Ears, and refused to Speak with the United States about Peace; altho many Speeches have been sent to them for that purpoſe —

Brothers,

I propose to send one Speech more requesting them to open a Road to some place or other, where we may meet and Speak to one another; And I trust with Your aſsistance, that the great Spirit will cauſe this good Work to succeed —

[1] This copy of the Treaty, which is in General Putnam's script, bears no other signatures. On his separate list of the *Signers of the Treaty* there are the names of thirty-one Indian chiefs. The witnesses were eight officers of the First American Legion, H. Vanderburgh, John Heckewelder, two interpreters, and the clerk. There were present at the Council 686 Indians — men, women, and children.



PLAN OF THE RIVER WABASH, 1792

Brothers,

Our great Chieff General Washington is very desirous to see a Number of Your Chieffs; to take them by the hand and smoke the Pipe of Peace with them at *his* Councill fire — there to brighten the Chain of Friendship, and personally convince them of the goodneſs of his Heart, and show how strong he and all the great Chieffs of the United States hold You.

Brothers,

If You agree that one or two Chieffs from each Tribe should visit the great Chieff General Washington as I propoſe: I shall provide for every expence of the Journey, and a ſafe Convoy and accomodation both going and returning — The rout will be from here to the Falls of Ohio by Land — thence by Water to Pittsburgh, and from thence by Land to Philadelphia.

Brothers,

If You listen to me in this, I have no doubt but You will find the interest and happineſs of Your Tribes greatly encreased, by the good things which the great Chieff will do further for You.

Brothers,

I wish You to take my Words into Consideration, and return me an Answer as soon as you have determined thereon.

Spooken Sept 29th 1792 —

SPEECH SENT TO THE DELLAWARES & OTHER TRIBES

The Speech of Rufus Putnam Agent to General Washington for the purpoſe of treating with the Indians North-west of the Ohio, and concluding a Peace with the Same —

Brothers of the Dellawares, Shawneſe, Miamis, Wyondots, and all other Tribes inhabiting the Country on the Miamis & Sandusky Rivers, and on the Lake —

The great Chieff of the United States, General Washington has sent since early in the Spring Meſsages to You of Peace. And I who have come from this great Chieff and his Councill more than 4 Months ago, have also sent a Speech to You for that purpoſe.

Brothers

After waiting a long time for Your Answer and not recieving any; I was encouraged to speak to the Nations on the Wabash and Illinois Rivers; and finding their Ears open, I held a Treaty with them at Tschubhicking (: Post Vincennes :) where we have burried the hatchet, wiped off all the stains of Blood; and concluded a firm and everlasting Peace.

Brothers,

I believe were You but once agreed to hear what I have to say to You, and should meet, see and hear me; you would find that it would be for Your good. As long as we dont see and hear one another, but listen to the singing Birds which fly to and fro; we are carried away with evry story, and not only remain Strangers to one another, but Enemys also.

Brothers,

Open Your Ears to the Truth — I speak from my

Heart, not with my Lips only. I wish to see You happy — I wish a Peace established between You and the United States — I wish to see Your Woemen and Chilldren go to rest without fear, and Your young Men become industrious Hunters, so that You all Young and old may live comfortably.

Brothers,

All this can be the caſe if You choſe it. The United States dont mean to wrong You out of Your Lands — They dont want to take away Your Lands by force — They want to do You Justice.

Now Brothers,

I send You this my Speech by some of thoſe who have been here at this great Treaty — They have seen and heard me, and are Witneſses to all what has paſsed between Us, and they will tell You the Truth.

Brothers,

When You have heard my Speech, and all what my Meſsengers have to say to You: I desire Your Wise Men to consider it well. The great and good Spirit will then convince them of the good Intentions of the United States, and that the Road is yet open to them to become a happy People —

Brothers

I desire You to send some of Your Wiſe Men with my Meſsengers to meet me at the Mouth of Muskingum, that we may see one another and speak together before I return again to our great Chieff General Washinton. I shall direct evry thing so, that You will have nothing to fear Ariſe then, come and see me, and let us shake hands with one another.

POST VINCENT
October 6th 1792 —

A Belt.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR WELLS

POST VINCENT September [October] 7th 1792

Sir

The Speech[1] you carry to the Indians fully informs you [of] the great object I have in view. If the Several tribes So far listen to my words as to Send Some of their Cheifs to Speeke with me at Muskingum, you, with Piankaſhaws, will accompany theme to that place where I Shall wait your arrivel; If you do not Succeed; So far as to make it ſafe to come to the mouth of Muskingum by land, I expect you will come into Fort Waſhington (or Some other Station on the ohio) where you will find proviſion made for Transporting you to Muſkingum. I wiſh you to make all the expidition poſiable which the nature of the buſineſs will admit. I have great expectation that through the Influence of the Eel river Chiefs, and of Chiefs of the five fires which I expect are now among them, theſe tribes will liſten to terms of peace but whether they will or not is the fact I am extreamly anxious to know I muſt therefore empreſs it on your mind that if poſsiable before you leave their country you aſsertain the matter, whether they will treat of peace with the united States or not

I am ſir your Ob

MR WM WELLS

COPY OF LETTER TO GENERAL WILKINSON

FORT WASHINGTON November 28th 1792

Sir

you will pleaſe to recollect that by my inſtructions from the Secretary of War of May last, The whole or Such part of the Indian goods under the care of the Quarter Master at this post as you and I Should

[1] Page 368.

Jointly Judge proper ware to be put into the hands of Major Hamtramck to be distributed to the Indians but under Such reſtrictions as to prevent all abuſe —

It is my opinion Sir that all thoſe goods Still remaining at this post be forwarded to Major Hamtramck at Post Vincent for the purpoſes aforesaid — Except the following articls — viz 480lb of Damaged Tobacco 14 old Hats, 21 old Bridles, 434½ yards of Linsey 3 pecies of black broad Cloath 10¾ yards of black broad Cloath, 18 braſs kettles 98 Corn Hoes 1 peace of Black and blue Flanen [flannel], 1 peice yallow do — 1 Bundle of Gartering Damaged —

you will pleaſe to let Major Hamtramck know that he will be held accountable for the goods put into his hands and that it is an inſtruction from the Secretary at War, that either receipts from the party reciveing, or the certificate of a third perſon will be required as evidence of the delivery of goods to the Indian in all caſes whatever and Sir if your mind Suggests any additional chik [check] as his commanding officer you will undoubtedly be justified in impoſing it on him the circumſtance of Mr Wells being in the Indian country you are well acquainted with. Should he come in to this post I must intreat you will Send him forward to Muſkingum with all Poſiable dispatch.

COPY OF LETTER TO GENL KNOX

MARIETTA December the 20th 1792

Sir

I have the honour to transmit to you the oreginal treaty of Peace[1] with Sundry tribes of Indians,

[1] Page 363.

Signed at post Vincennes the 27th of September last of which Major Hamtramick forwarded a Copy by Mr Prior I alſo encloſe you, A Journal of the proceedings during the negotiation,[1] together with my Speech to the Indians on the 29th of September[2] (inviting them to Send a Speech to their hostile neighbours, &c — &c &c) and a Speech I Sent to the Dellawares & other tribes Dated the 6th of october,[3] with my inſtructions to Mr Wells the Meſsenger[4]

I am extreamly mortified that So much time has elapsed before it was in my power to forward theſe papers

the circumſtancs which has ocationed this delay are theſe. on the 25th of September I was taken with the ague and fevor which returned upon me every 2d day untill the 30th from which time the fitts returned every Day Succeſsively for three days, and the fevor run So high as rendered me incapable of any buſi[neſs] untill the 6th of october in which time Major Hamtramick thought proper to Send off the chiefs which on the 28th of Sept departed [?] to go to Philadelphia beſides it would not have ben proper to reſque the oreginal treaty with Mr Prior by land to the falls, for their was real danger not only from the hostile Indians but from parties of Militia who ware about that time frequently out in that quarter in purſute of Stolen horses

on the 6th of october the feavor left me. althoe very weak and feable I Set out from Post Vincennes by warter for the falls of Ohio. on the 18th I was taken with a relaps of the Same disordr and it was the 29th before I got aſhore at the falls haveing for 12 days Suffered much being without any Phiſictian or Medicen and no acommodation but what the

[1] Page 335. [2] Page 366. [3] Page 368. [4] Page 370.

Barge afforded — after arriving at the falls my disorder returned So that I was not able to leve there untill the 19th of November, when the fits being partly broke I Set out, and fortunately I have had but two fits Sence. but from haveing bad oars men the State of the warter and Shortneſs of the days I was not able to reach this place untill the 18th inſtent. —

you will obſerve by my Speech of october 6th Sent to the Dellawars & others, that I invite them to Send Some of their wiſe men with my Meſsengers to the mouth of Muskingum. conſidering the State of my health at the time I Sent the Speech, the Seaſon of the year and other circumſtances I conſidered this as the most proper place to invite them to and this being Ditermined on, made it neceſsary for Mr Hackenwelder to Stop here; for althoe he has ben of very eſential Service to me in carrying on the negotiations below, yet if the Dellawares &c &c come in to this place his preſence would be much more neceſsry as he is the only interpreter of there language within my reach But So much time has elapsed Sence I Sent my Talk from Vincennes as before mentioned, that I have no hope of the remaining hostile tribs lstining to peace. yet I concive it neceſsary for me to waite Some time longer for Mr Wells and the Indian Chief who went with him for if they are not murdered they certainly will be here as Soon as poſiable whether they Succeed in perſuaiding the Dellawares &c &c to accompany them or not however if I hear northing from them before the 10th or 15th of January I Shall my Self with Mr Hackingwelder Set out for Philadelphia

you will obſerve that by the fourth article of the Treaty the United States Guarantee to the Indians

all the lands to which they have a Just Claim. I choſe this general mode of expretion becauſe I was not furniſhed with documents to aſsertain the lands they have given away or otherwiſe disposed of, & alſo becauſe I concived it most agreable to my inſtructions haveing before the Signing the treaty good reaſon to beleve I Should perſuaid them to Send a deputation to Philadelphia — (the tract on the Wabaſh river which they [declared] in the proceeding of the 26th of September to have ben given to the french is at least 50 mile Square)

Your favor of the 7th of August,[1] I met with at Fort Waſhington the 26th of November on my return up the river. their must have ben Some Delay in forwarding this letter to Fort Waſhington, or otherwiſe it would have reached me before the opening of the treaty (which would have given me great Satisfaction) however I am happy to find I had anticipated your wiſhes; my motives for doing of which was fully explained in my letter to you of July 22d[2] the remaining Indian [goods] which I left at Fort Waſhington in august as ware Sutable for the purpos I requested Genl Wilkenson to forward to Major Hamtramick

Should the two Interpreters who came on with Mr Prior be Settled with before I come to Philadelphia they must be charged with monies advanced by Major Hamtramck on my account and recepted for to me as follows viz. Myah or Malliot Seventy Seven Dollars Jacko or Dumais fifty nine Dollars —

[1] Page 313. [2] Page 301.

COPY OF LETTER TO GEN^{L} WAYNE

MARIETTA December 21st 1792

Sir

Your favor of the 6th of August[1] reached me at Vincennes, but I have not had it in my power to acknowledge the receipt of it untill now — When M^{r} Prior left Vincennes I was ſcarcely able to Speek, much leſs to write, and Sence that time untill the Eighteenth inſtent I have ben either confined by Sickneſs on the way or purſuing my Journey to this place. What paſsed at Vincennes untill M^{r} Prior ſet out, I deſired Major Hamtramck to communicate both to you and the Secretary at War — on the 7th of october I Sent a Speech to the Dellawars and other hostile tribes inviteing them to Send Some of their wiſe men to this place to Speek with me on the Subject of peace, but I hear northing from them yet Nor have I ever had much expectation that they would harken to the invitation. I Shall however wait to the 10th or 15 of January and then Set out for Philadelphia, and endevor to convince, as far as my Opinion and Influence extend, all the advocates for Treaties that northing but a Sevear whiping will bring theſe proud Savages to a Sence of there intrest

I have the honour to be Sir
with much reſpect your
humble Servant

Maj^{r} Gen^{l} WAYNE

COPY OF LETTER TO GEN^{L} WAYNE

PITTS-BURGH Jan^{y} 21st 1793

Sir

when I left Muſkingum it was my intention if practicable to have come, at leaſt, as far as Legion Ville

[1] Page 311.

by water. but on my arrivel at Buffaloe, I found myſelf So unwell, and the wether So threatening that I dare not make the attempt. I am very ſorry that I am disappointed of the honour of paying my reſpects to you in perſon at this time; but the ill State of my health at preſent and the wiſh I have to be at Philadelphia as Soon as Poſiable must appologize for my not makeing Tour from this place to Legion Ville —

I have heard northing from below Sence I wrote you by Maj Swan M^r W^m Wells who I Sent with ſome Eel Creek Chiefs to the hoſtile tribes with a Speech Dated at Post Vincent the 6^th of october I fear has Sheared the fate of poor Truman for other wiſe he would have ben at Muskingum before I left it[1] the only hope I have is that he may have made his eſcape back to Post Vincent by Some means or other ben detained by the way, & if So he may yet be expected up the River on his way to Philadelphia, and agreably to my inſtructions left for him at Muskingum will wait on your excellency. But whether he be dead or alive, confident I am that the tribes to whome he was Sent have not listened to the v[o]ice of peace, nor do I beleve they ever will untill they get a good whiping. Much is Said in Some late papers of there diſpoſition to treat &c &c. from what authority I know not, but I am much miſstaken in my conjecturs if it dos not all oreginate from a Deſigne to impoſe on govement, and induce them to relax in there meaſures for proſecuting the war with vigour. I ſhall be happy to find myſelf Miſstaken but northing ſhort of the event will ever convince me that I am ſo. for admit that the Britiſh goverment wiſh the Indians to be at peace with

[1] William Wells was not killed, but the Indians to whom he was sent would not consider the peace overtures.

us and admit that the Indians have made propoſitions to treat with us agreably to what has ben publiſhed in the News paprs, yet while I know they are under the influence of the greatest Villens in the world, I Shall doubt their Sincerrity in every propoſition of the kind they Shall make, unleſs accompaned by circumſtances which do not exist in the preſent caſe. when they ſhall propoſe a proper time & place for holding a treaty: and give us Hostags for the Security of the Commiſions who ſhall venture beyond the protection of our army to treat with them, I ſhall begin to think they are in earnest; and not before —

If M^r^ Wells arrivs I must requst that you will give ordor for his being Aſsisted in his Journey to Philadlphia

LETTER FROM GEN^L^ KNOX

WAR-DEPARTMENT, Feb^y^ 11^th^ 1793.

Sir.

I beg leave to request to be informed, by you, in what ſenſe the Fourth Article of the Treaty, made by you, with the Wabash Indians, on the 27th day of September 1792 was underſtood by you, and by them, at the time of forming the ſame — That is, whether it was underſtood, that any other power, than the United States, had the right of purchaſing when the indians ſhould be diſpoſed to ſell their lands?

I am Sir,
with great reſpect,
Your very humble Serv^t^
H KNOX
Sec^y^ of War

Brigadier General
RUFUS PUTNAM.

ANSWER TO GEN^{L} KNOX LETTER

(Copy) PHILADELPHIA
February 11th 1793

Sir

In answer to your question of this day [1] I reply that it was never contemplated by me, nor the indians who met me in council at Vincennes that the United States conceded to them any right to ſell their lands to any other power then the Goverment of the Union, under whoſe protection they then freely acknowledged themselves to be

I am Sir With great respect
Y^{r} Most ob ſerv^{t}
R. PUTNAM

Hon^{ble} Gen^{l} KNOX

LETTER TO GEN^{L} KNOX

Feby 13th, 1793

Sir

in explination of the proceedings of the Council at Vincens Sep^{t} 1792 [2] of my letter of November [December] 20th 1792 [3] and of my Certificet of Feb^{y} 6th 1793 I beg leve to obſerve as the Chiefs did not expreſs them Selves clearly in council with reſpect to the lands they had given away or Sold, I made it a point to enquire of Some principle Chiefs with reſpect to a Sale made to Louis Viviatte [4] and others, and was informed (by Rene Codert) an inhabitent of

[1] Page 377.
[2] Page 335.
[3] Page 371.
[4] In the original manuscript the name *Louis Viviatte* is not in General Putnam's script. In 1775 Louis Viviat, acting as agent for the *Wabash Land Company*, obtained a deed from eleven Piankeshaw chiefs for a tract of more than thirty-seven million acres. See Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pp. 104–109.

Vincens and an Adopted Chief among the Piankeſhaws, and by W^m^ Wells, who has previous to June last reſided eight or nine years with the Eel Creek and is an adopted Chief in that tribe (both Sworn interpreters at the Treaty) that the Indians disclaimed the Validity of that pretended Sale, alledging that it was don by those who had no right to Sell, that none by the Piankeſhaws recived the pay or ware concerned in the buſineſs and that the lands belonged to all the Wabaſh Tribes in Common

RUFUS PUTNAM

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^L^ KNOX

PHILADELPHIA Feb^y^ 14^th^ 1793

Sir

In looking over my former communications I find I have made no official report, relative to the Indian priſoners which I reſtored, the Cloathing distributed at the Treety, nor the Silver ornements which I recived from you ye 22^d^ of May 1792. I therefore conſider it my duty to preſent you the encloſed papers and beg leve to make the following remarks. —

I arrived at Vincens the 12^th^ of September with all the women & Children who had ben priſoner at Fort Waſhington on the 13^th^ the Eel Creek and Weauchtenos aſſembled when I reſtored to them there frinds and delivered the Speech[1] contained in the incloſure N° 1— there Speeches on the ocation was not taken down: but they all ware expreſsive of there gratitude, and I am fully convinced that this unconditional act of generosity on the part of the united States had a great influence in produceing that confidence in the American goverment which appears in

[1] Page 333.

their Speeches in council, and of induceing them to Send a number of there Chiefs to Philadelphia —

The Cloathing taken on for the treaty was receipted for to the Quartermaster at Fort Waſhington By Capt Peters who Commanded the eſcort and delivered at Vincens to Mr Joſeph Baird a perſon I heard recommended by Major Hamtramck for the purpus of takeing charge of the Same and delivering it agreably to such ordors as he Should recive. —

The encloſure N° 2 contains an abſtract of the Deliveries of cloathing agreably to certain papers put into my hands by Mr Beard the day before I came away, on which I wrote to Major Hamtramck as follows —

"Post Vincennes october 9th 1792

"Sir

Neither time nor the State of my health will per-
"mit me to examin the account of Mr Beard to See
"whether the Delevery of goods to the Indians, and
"thoſe remaining on hand coriſpond with the invoice
"of goods he recived of Capt Peters. I must there-
"fore refer this buſineſs to you for Settlement, as alſo
"the affair of powder and lead, purchased of Major
"Vanderburgh for the Indians, and put in your Mag-
"gazean —

"I have to request that you will recive the re-
"maining Indian goods from Mr Beard and distribute
"them to frindly Indians from time to time accord-
"ing to your discretion — I have the honour to be
"&c &c

Rufus Putnam

on this abſtract, I beg leve to obſerve farther, that it appears there was a greater number recived Blankets

then ware included in the proviſion return for any one day of the Treety this may be accounted for partly by the cloathing deliv[ere]d to the Illinoi Indians for there wives who ware not preſent & partly for the cloathing delivered for the Infirm, both women & Children of the Eel Creeks, Weauchtenos and Piankeſhaws who did not attend the treaty. but this is partly conjectural as I was not able to attend the delivery my ſelf, but left it to Major Hamtramck — on the encloſure N° 3 I obſerve that none of the ornements ware delivered to the Chiefs who came to Philadelphia becauſe I concived they would be preſented with Something of the kind by the Preſident or your ſelf & they ware given to underſtand that they might expect it, beſides as I was Still purſuing meaſures to Speek with the Dellawars, & other Hostile tribs I thought it neceſsary to reſerve the principle part of the Silver ornements, untill there high Mightineſses might agreably to my Speech Sent from Vincens Speek with me if they pleaſed —

P S. I engaged M^r^ W^m^ [Wells] as an Interpreter at one dollar per day from July 14 1792, and beſides his wages when he left Vincenne the 7^th^ of october to carry my Speech to the Dellaware &c I promiſed to allow him and his companions 300 Dols and if he Succeeded So far as to induce the Chiefs of the hostile tribes to Send a deputation to Muskingum I engaged to encres this to 500 Dollar —

BILL OF ADVANCES INDIAN DEPARTMENT

The United States (Indian Department) To B. G. R Putnam D–r

		Dollars	Cents
1792	To advances made in profecuting the buſineſs of Indian Treaties viz —		
May 26th	To paying for a Brest Girt & Stuffing public Saddle per memorandom, Pennſylvania Currency 3/9	—	50
June 5th	To 12 yd of Blue Ribon for Sending Speeches pr Men[d] 13/	1	73
August 4th	To 82lb of To Bacco bought of Mr Broun for the uſe of the Indian Department pr Bill N° 19 40/1 P C	5	46⅔
Sept 1st	To 2 Buſhel of Corn bought for the Indian priſoners per men[d]	1	—
August 23d	To paying 8 men of Capt Doyles for Extra Servis in Getting Boat off (lodged in the falls of Ohio going down —	6	—
25	To paying James Patten for piloting one boat over the Rapids of Ohio per Bill N° 20 Pennſya Cur 35/	4	66⅔
	To paying Wm Beards accl for Sundrys Bill N° 21 —	3	12
	To paying Samll Kirbys accl d° — Bill N° 22 28/. V. C	4	66⅔
	To paying John Feltys accl for Waggonage Bill N° 23 18/ V. C	3	—
	D° — Adam Wentzele accl for D° — Bill N° 24 19/6 V. C	3	25
October 6th	To Sundrys furniſhed for the Indian Department & money advanced by Henry Vander Burgh Bill N° 25 Virginia Curency £308:18:9 —	1029	78⅔
Oct° 2d	To Caſh advanced, Malliet (Interpreter) pr receipt —	77	—
Oct° 4th	To d° paid Pierre Denau, Indian Meſsenger, pr recl	50	—
7th	To d° — d° — Guilaume Paijet d° — d° — per receipt	142	—
	To paying Wm Peters for one horſe purchased for the uſe of Wm Wells going with a Speech to the Dellawares and other hostile Indians pr receipt —	70	—
	Carried over — —	1402	18

		Dolls	Dollars	Cents
1792	Brought over — —		1402	18
August 2d	To Cash advanced Wm Wells, Interpreter pr rect	21.26		
15th	to d° — d° — D° — D° —	8 —		
Oct° 6th	to d° — d° — d° — D° —	17.14		
d. 5th	to d° — d° — d° — D° —	14		
7th	to pd H. Vander Burgh on his acct 8/6 —	1.41⅓	61	81⅓
	To paying H. Vander Burgh for Flints pr acct N° 26 12/7 V C		2	10
9th	To d° Wm M°Intosh pr acct for Sundry Services Bill N° 27		21	—
	To d° Joseph Baird his acct for Sundry pr Bill N° 29 Virginia Curency £39:11:5		131	90
	To paying Jn° Smalls acct Bill N° 11. v c £9:10:6		31	75
	To Sundry articles Supplyed by Elliot & Williams pr Bill N° 12 Virginia Curency £17:17:7 —		59	60
Oct° 2d	To one Fire lock, a present to a Piankshaw Chief —		6	—
1793	To the Hire of Elezer Bullard from June 26 to December 18th inclusive 5 months 24 days @ 8 Doll		46	41
Jan7 12th	To Cash paid Joseph Barker for repairing Boate per receipt		—	66⅔
	To Sundry Expences pr bill		491	20
			2254	62

Contra C–r

		Dollars		
M 22d 1792	By Cash recd of Treasury	1000		
	By Draft in favor Vanderbrgh	1029.79		
	By d° in favor of Elliot & Wm	59.60	2089	39
			165	23

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN KNOX

PHILADELPHIA February 14th 1793

Sir

you know the motives that induced me to accept of an appointment in the army last May, and be aſsurd I Entertain the Same reſpect for the Preſident of the United States now as I did at that time, nor have I leſs enclination to Serve my Country in any compatible with my Situation — But from age and infermeties eſpecially Sence my long Sickneſs the last year, I find my Self unable to under go the fateagus and hardſhips incident to a Military life — I therefore herewith encloſe my Commiſsion of Brigadier Gen[l] and request that I may be discharged from further Servis in the army of the United Stats

I have the honour to be
with all poſiable affection
Sir your most obed[nt]
humble Serve[t]

TO GENL KNOX

PHILADELPHIA April 1793

Sir

At the request of M[r] Mathews I beg leve to ſubmit a few obſervations to your conſideration reſpecting [?] Some works erected at Gallipolis by Meſsers Mathews & Bodwell

When I was at Gallioplis on my way down the River last June I examined the Situation of the place and am clearly of opinion that the New Block houſe and Stockade and the repair of the old one or ſome other additional work more extencive was abſolutely neceſsary for the reception of the inhabitants and accommodation of the Troops who have Sence occupied them in caſe of an attack, which there was

every reaſon to apprehend might Soon take place after the Defeat of Gen^{l} S^{t} Clare the people without Some place to repair to where they might combine there force must in all probability have fall[en] a Sacrefiſe —

I am told Mathews and Bodwells acc^{t} is objected to becauſe they Began the work before any continantal troops arrived and without authority from any public officer. I beg leve to obſerve that General S^{t} Clare did make an arrangement imediately after his Defeat, to post troops at Gallipolis and had it not ben for Some Miſsconſtruction of ordors either Haskel or Tillinghast must have ben there before the commencement of theſe works; and had they arrived they could not remain without cover, nor ought they or any officer to have remained any time with out puting the place in a State of Defence — for besids the Security of the troops which it would be his duty to provide for what protection could a Small Detachment afford to the Settlem[en]t without Securing a Small part of the village by Stockade as an asilum to the Inhabitants in caſe of an attack.

I am ſenciable of the propriety of a previous ordor from the Secretary at war or ſome public officer to authorize Such kind of expences, but can not the Secretary at war as well Judge of the propriety of the maſure now as before the work was don. if it be ſaid the inhabitant[s] ought to be at the expénce of their own fortification, and for the Troops, they might have covered themſelves — I anſwer I am ſure the Secretary at War will never make this objection, he is too ſensiable of the distreſs and ſuffering, of a Frontier Settlem[en]t to impoſe Such a Tax on them, eſpecial the French Settlers at Gallipolis & there are

few others ther. if then it is in your power to authorize the liquedation of this acc[t] I hope you will do it and not ſuffer an expence to fall on theſe two men who from my perſonal knowledge are ill able to bear it —

LETTER FROM COL[o] PICKERING

General Post Office
PHILADELPHIA May 24. 1794.

Dear Sir.

It is proposed to attempt the carriage of a mail from Pittsburg to Wheeling by land, and thence by water to Limeſtone.[1] From Limeſtone by a new road on the ſouthern ſide of the Ohio to the mouth of Licking, opposite to Fort Washington, where it will croſs over. From Limeſtone the mail will be carried thro' the ſtate of Kentuckey; the poſt-road thro' the Wilderneſs, in this case, to be discontinued. — I have given directions to have three boats conſtructed for the purpose, to be formed in the beſt manner for ease and expedition, in pushing up ſtream, to be managed by five hands each. I hope they will be running ſome time in June.

Marietta will be a ſtation for the boats to ſtop at as they paſs; and doubtleſs it will be convenient to have a poſt-office there. Herewith I send a packet addreſsed to you, to be put into the hands of the person you judge moſt suitable for poſtmaster. He will there ſee the forms in which the buſineſs is to be transacted, with which he ſhould make himſelf acquainted. The law now ſent will expire in a few days; it is ſubstantially the ſame as the new law, as to the *regulations*. The latter will be forwarded when prepared. — The person you designate for poſtmaster ſhould be careful and trusty, and there will be an

[1] Maysville.

advantage in having one whose residence will be near the Landing place of the mail boats.

The advantages of regular mail will be ſo great to your ſettlement, I am ſure you will omit nothing to ſecure them.

I am with respect & esteem
dear ſir,
Your moſt obed^{t} ſerv^{t}
TIMOTHY PICKERING

P. S. I suppose a poſtoffice may be eligible at *Gallipolis:* for which reason I send a second packet addreſsed to you, to be disposed of as you think fit. You will be ſo good as to favor me with an answer as ſoon as poſsible

General RUFUS PUTNAM
Marietta.

LETTER FROM COL PICKERING

GENERAL POST OFFICE June 7 1794

Sir

I wrote you on the 24th ult^{o} [1] & sent two packages, for the establishment of post-offices at Marietta and Gallipolis. Major Craig informs me that the mail-boats which are preparing at Pittsburg will soon be ready. I supposed their crews would have been engaged there: but Major Craig writes me, that he had consulted Capt. Mills of Marietta, who told him that he would procure at Marietta a trusty boat-master and four good hands, for one boat, to ply between that place and Gallipolis, and that another set of excellent hands might be engaged at Gallipolis, for the boat which is to ply between that place and Limestone. It does not appear that Major Craig has

[1] Page 386.

given any directions for raising this third set; if he has he will inform you; and on defect of such information, permit me to ask of you the favour to take such steps as you shall deem effectual & best to engage this third boat's crew, expeditiously. Be pleased to speak with Capt Mills on the subject, and to advise Major Craig at what time both setts will be ready. — Perhaps they may be so engaged that their pay need not begin till near the time when their actual service will commence. —

Col° O'Harra & Major Craig both informed me that hands could be engaged at 12 dollars a month and rations at 15 cents each: now they think that good hands cannot be obtained under 15, nor boat-masters under 20 — The difference of three dollars a month will increase considerably the expence of the undertaking, which without such addition will be very great.

However it must now be encountered if unavoidable.

I am with respect & eſteem,
Sir,
your moſt obed^t ſerv^t
TIMOTHY PICKERING

General RUFUS PUTNAM

LETTER TO COL° PICKERING

MARIETTA June y^e 9^th 1794

Dear Sir

your favor of the 24^th Ult.[1] with the packets refered to have come to hand. I have engaged M^r Return Jonathan Meigs Junior[2] to undertake the buſi-

[1] Page 386.

[2] Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., was Postmaster-General from 1814 to 1823, and held other important offices.

neſs of Postmaster at this place; he is a gentleman of probity, is Attorney at Law for the United States in this County and keeps his office with in a few yards of where Boats will naturly land both on acc^{t} of convenience & Security

with reſpect to Gallipolis I am not ſo well acquainted there as to fix on anyone with out ſome further information, which I expect to obtain in a few days.

I very much rejoice that an attempt is to be made to carry a male by this rout, and I have no doubt it will ſucceed and you may rest aſsured that Northing will be wanting at this place to give them Security and expidition I have long wondered that the united States have never yet eſtabliſhed a po[s]t neer the mouth of the Sioto River; it is very evident to me that much the greater part of the Miſsch[ief]don to boats paſsing the ohio has ben effected by Indians coming down the Sioto in Canoes, & other Craft and ſpreading them ſelves along the Shores of the Ohio for fifty or ſixty mils abov and below the mouth of the Scioto. I preſume that ninteen twentieth of the Depredations committed on the river ſence I have lived in this Country has happened within thoſe distences; Several Score (I am certain) and I belive more then one hundred people have ben murdered in that quarter within five year and much property deſtroyed and carryed up the Sioto; a grate part of which I have no doubt would have ben prevented, had there ben only a Block houſe and ſtockade erected and a ſubbaltern Command placed at, or Neer the mouth of the Sioto; it is that part of the river which is coſindered by far the most dangerous in paſsing Down or up — and I query if the danger will not increſe when it is known (as it certainly will be) that your mail regulerly paſses up and down —

Pardon Sir the liberty I have taken in giveing theſe hints. I have no view but that of giving information, & a wiſh to ſee public ſervis promoted and the lives and propertiy of the Citizens preſerved, which I must ſay I have thought was too much neglected in the inſtence I have mentioned—

LETTER FROM COL° PICKERING

General Poſt Office PHILADELPHIA
June 20. 1794.

Sir.

I wrote you on May 24th & June 7th[1] relative to the carriage of a mail by the Ohio, and the establishment of poſt-offices at Marietta & Gallipolis. Those letters I hope will have reached you, and persons have been designated for poſt-masters at those places.

To-day I received advice from Major Craig that one boat and crew were ready, and that the other two would be ready to follow her weekly. At Limestone the mails by the Ohio are to be ſent by land to Fort Washington. George Mitchell Esq. was named to me for poſtmaster at Limestone, and I desired him to make proviſion for carrying the mail thence to Fort-Washington.

I inclose herein a key for the postmaster at Marietta, for the lock which will ſecure the mail; and a packet for the postmaster at Gallipolis, also inclosing a key, to which I requeſt you to give the proper direction.

The persons accepting the offices muſt give bond with ſureties, and take the oaths prescribed by law. These are now forwarded, for both places.

[1] Pages 386, 387.

I hope ſhortly to have the pleasure of an answer, and remain, dear ſir,

Your moſt obed[t] ſervant

TIMOTHY PICKERING

RUFUS PUTNAM Esq.

LETTER FROM COLO PICKERING

GEN[L] POST OFFICE Aug[t] 8th 1794.

Dear Sir

I this day received your letter of the 27th ult[o] — I also received in due time your favour of June 9th[1] — The paſsage in your letter relative to the establishment of a poſt at Scioto I marked to be extracted & ſent to the Secretary of War, & I think it was done. I alſo ſpoke to him on the ſubject. It ſtruck me as important; and I blame myself for not pursu[i]ng the matter to effect. Gen[l] Knox has this day left town to go to the Province of Maine, and will not return perhaps under two months — too late, I ſuppose, to make an establishment at Scioto this year, if the orders for the purpose have not been already given.

I ſhall be greatly obliged by a free communication of your opinion of any alterations & improvements which you think would be uſeful in the carriage of the mail by the Ohio, and information of the manner in which it is conducted — whether with due care and dispatch, or otherwiſe.

I inclose a commiſsion for M[r] Meigs the poſtmaster, and the new law for regulating the department of the poſt office.

I received a letter from M[r] Mills mentioning the detention of letters deſtined for Marietta, at Pittsburg, where they have been advertised in the news-papers.

[1] Page 388.

Please to inform him that I have written this day to the poſtmaster M^r Scull, to forward all ſuch letters, and others for other ſtations below Pittsburg, in the mail.

I accept with thanks the tender of your ſervices, which I shall call for with freedom, knowing the cordiality with which the tender was made.

I am, with ſincere respect & eſteem
Dear Sir,
Your moſt obed^t Serv^t
TIMOTHY PICKERING

General RUFUS PUTNAM,
Marietta

COPY OF LETTER TO COL^O PICKERING

MARIETTA August 30 1794

Dear Sir

Encloſed I Send you Francis De Hebecourts Bond, and Certificate of the oaths ſubscribed by him as Deputy Post Master at Gallipolis

your favor of the 8^th inſtent[1] was duly recived and I have preſented the encloſure to M^r Meigs —

The Male boat returned the 22^d inſtent from Gallipolis without any Mail from Lime Stone, that Boat not haveing arrived at Gallipolis when they left that place ſo that the Lime Stone male is now a week behind. whether this Miſsfortune is oweing to accident or Negligence in the people of the boat I cannot tell: that Tour I know may very well be performed within the time limeted, at the preſent ſeaſon of the year, and ſtate of the water. I have heard that they ware detered from ſeting out from lime Stone ſo ſoon as they ought from a report that there ware Indians on the river

[1] Page 391.

the Boats from this to Whealing and alſo from this to Gallipolis perform there Tours very eaſily, at preſent, while the water is low, in about five days, and I have no doubt but they will always be able to do it within the week except when obſtructed by Ice which will ſildom happen. and when the boats cannot paſs on acc^{t} of the Ice, the mail may be forwarded in good time by a Couple of the hands takeing it on by land —

But the distance from Gallipolis to Lime Stone is ſo Grate, that when the river is high and the days Short and Cold, I am fully of opinion that the paſsing a Mail between thoſe places Weekly will be impracticable. prehaps if they are industrous they may perform the tour about twice in three weeks.

this opinion of mine is not founded meerly on the report or opinion of others acquainted with the navigation of the river but from my own experence and obſervations in ſeveral voiges which I have made between this and Fort Waſhington in Different ſeaſons of the year and ſtate of the Water, and what ever may be the opinion of others on this ſubject I am confident that experience will prove that mine is well grounded

The improvement on the preſent plan of Carrying the male which I would ſugest for your conſideration is, that a Boat ſhould ply between Gallipolis and the mouth of the Sioto, and between the Sioto & Fort Waſhington (which ſhould Deliver and recive the Kentucky Mail at Lime Stone) with this alteration I concive there would be a moral certainty of a reguler weekly conveyance of the Mail provided the people employed ware faith[ful] to their Trust, except in very extreordinary Caſes — — I know that ſuch an arangement cannot take place untill a post

is eſtabliſhed at the Sioto, a circumſtance I hope you will not looſe Sight of for reaſons which I have heretofore Sugested, as alſo that you will fail of a regular Weekly Mail for neer half the year without ſuch eſtabliſhment——

I hope northing I have ſaid or any other circumſtance will opperate as a Discouragement ſufficient to prevent the ſending a Mail by this rout. for if it is conſidered in a Political light only, the information by this means obtained of the meaſures of goverment on the one hand & State of the people on the other, the knowledge diffused among the people by Newspapers, by corrispondence between frinds and other communic[a]tions with theſe remote parts of the American Empire may be of infinite conſequence to the goverment. Northing can be more fatal to a republican goverment then Ignorence among its Citizens, as they will be made the eaſy dupes of Deſigning men & inſted of ſupporting the laws, the reaſon and policy of which they are ignorent, they will flock in thousands after a Demagouge who Sets up [to] oppose every meaſure of goverment which he is able to perſuade them is not for there intrest: in ſuch circumſtancs the well disposed are born down and carryed away with the flood they [are] incapable of opposing for want of that information which thoſe within the circle of political information are poſſeſsed of

In this point of view I was exceedingly pleaſe[d] with the ſending a mail by this rout and I hope the expence will not prevent the continuence althoe it Should riſe conſiderably beyond what was at first contemplated

LETTER FROM COL° PICKERING

GENERAL POST OFFICE Jany 16. 1795.

Dear Sir.

Tho' appointed to the department of War, yet as no one has yet been appointed poſtmaster general, I occasionally do buſineſs in that department. I feel particularly concerned to do it when it respects arrangements which I began, but which from any cause have not fully ſucceeded.

I believe you know that at firſt it was proposed to employ four boats to ply between Pittsburg, or rather Wheeling, and Fort Washington. Afterwards it was found that the mail might be carried by land from Limeſtone to Fort Washington. This leſsened the distance about 70 miles: and as on enquiry, there appeared to be no ſtations for exchanging the mails but Marietta, Gallipolis & Limeſtone, theſe were fixed on for the purpose. The conſequence was, that the Boat, N° 3. plying between Gallipolis, 145 miles, was seldom if ever in time. To remedy this mischief, Col° Mitchell ſuggested to Major Craig that he could ſend a canoe to meet the mail from Gallipolis; and from Major Craig's letter to the Gen[l] Poſt Office, rec[d] during my absence on a treaty with the Six Nations, it was understood that this proposition of Col° Mitchell's had been carried into effect. But on examining Col° Mitchel's letters to the Poſt Office, I conclude that the measure was merely ſuggested, & not executed. The Consequence of the failure of the 3d boat has been ſuch intollerable delay of the mail, as almoſt to discourage a prosecution of the plan of conveying a mail by the Ohio — combining with the delay, the great expence attending it.

Lately the Kentuckey gentlemen have proposed

that the mail ſhould stop at *Preston*,[1] 25 or 26 miles on this ſide Limeſtone. This will reduce the range of the 3d boat to 120 miles. I have aſsented to this proposition; and laſt week wrote to Colº Mitchel to ſend the poſt rider from Limeſtone up to Preston, to take the mail thence by land to Washington (which is 4 miles from Limeſtone) & thence to Fort Washington. This will increaſe his ride to near 100 miles, and give him pretty conſtant employment. — Mrs John and George Graham are the gentlemen at Preston to whom I have written to receive the mail from the boat, & deliver the one from below. — I have further proposed that the Boat Nº 2. which by one of your letters I ſee had two ſpare days, to wait one or both of them for the arrival of boat Nº 3. and in like manner Boat Nº 1. muſt wait for boat Nº 2. In this manner I have hopes that a regular conveyance of this mail may be effected.

But, my dear ſir, I have not given you this detail merely for information: I am ſolicitous to commit the whole buſineſs to your direction. Your ſituation is peculiarly favourable for the purpose, as two boats weekly arrive at Marietta. I know too that for yourself as well as the country where you reſide, you feel much intereſted to give ſucceſs to ſome plan of carrying the mail by the Ohio. I have therefore to requeſt — and you are hereby fully authorized to make ſuch arrangements for the purpose as you ſhall judge beſt. — I am told that the duty of the boats Nº 1. & 2. is ſo light, that 2 out of the 4 hands are alternately left at home. Now this cannot be right. If not neceſsary for the ſervice, they ſhould be discharged. Or if ſtill the duty of boat Nº 3. ſhould be

[1] Preston (Prestonville) is on the Ohio River below the mouth of the Kentucky.

too ſevere, one or two hands may be added to their preſent complement.

What I have ſaid in this letter respecting the management of the boats, you will be pleased to consider merely as hints: the actual arrangement to produce an efficient carriage of the mail, I beg you to make. I ſhall drop a line for Major Craig & Col° Mitchel to apprize them of the measures I have deſired you to take.

I ſhall desire Major Craig to pay regularly all the men employed, & to pay off any that may be discharged.

Your arrangements you will of course communicate to the General Post Office, where I ſhall ſee them.

Should the Indian War be continued (which God forbid) I ſhall not fail to communicate to the President your opinion of the utility of a ſmall poſt at the mouth of the Scioto. I sent your letter on the ſubject to Gen[l] Knox ſoon after I rec[d] it.

I remain Dear Sir,
with great reſpect & eſteem
Your moſt ob[t] ſerv[t]
TIMOTHY PICKERING

P. S. It has been ſuggested to me that the mail boats are much too heavy for pushing with the requiſite speed. Will you favour me with your ideas on this ſubject — and of the ſize & form of the boats beſt adapted to that ſervice?

General RUFUS PUTNAM
Marietta.

COPY OF A LETTER TO COL° PICKERING

MARIETTA February 9th 1795

Dear Sir

your favor of the 16th ult[1] was recived by the Last Mail. I most ſincearly Congratulate both you and my

[1] Page 395.

Country on your appointment to the office of Secretary at War — with reſpect to the ſubject of your letter I will attend to the buſineſs agreably to your requst, and no time will be lost in makeing the neceſsary enquiries in ordor to make up an opinion of what alterations if any may be made for the better: I shall endevor to aſsertain Myſelf of all the cauſes which have contributed to prevent the reguler arrivel of the Several Boats at their places of Distination in Due time and adopt Such Arrangments as ſhall appear to me the most likely to aſure punctuality in time to come; which will be forwarded to the General post office agreebly to your Direction

COPY OF A LETTER TO GEN^{L} PICKERING

MARIETTA February, 20th 1795

Dear Sir

After considering the ſubject in every point of view in which I am capable of contemplateing it, The plan contained in the encloſed paper [1] promiſses the fairest to enſure a reguler and efficient carrage of the Mail between Wheeling and Preſton of any I can think of, under preſent circumſtances. I ſhould have prefered Wednesday inſteed Thursday for the Boats arriveing at Preſton, but was fearfull this might interfere too much with the preſent arrangement of the Post riders below and thereby occation a Detention of the Boats which always ought to be avoided if poſſible, as it tends to beget negligence and gives a pretext for excuſe ſhould they not return to Marietta in due time, and I did not think myſelf authorized to interfere in matters below further then to preſs on Col^{o} Marſhall the neceſsity of the Mail below being punctual in her arrivel at Preſton by Twelve oClock

[1] Page 402.

on Thursday; and beſides Boate N° 1 haveing frequently failed reaching Marietta untill monday oweing as I have ben informed to the Mail from Pitts burgh not arriveing at Wheeling in Due time, a Doubt aroſe from that Quarter whether the Boats from Marietta would always be able to reach Preston before Thursday; but if the buſineſs above can be ſo regulated as that the boate ſhall not waite at Wheeling after three oClock on Saturday for the Eastern Mail, and the buſineſs below can be ſo arranged as that Wednesday Twel[v]e oClock ſhall be the post hour at Preſton it will in my opinion much improve the Plan, for in that caſe the Boats will be able, always, to leave Marrietta on Sunday evening and to arrive at Preſton on Wednesday by twelve oClock with the greatest eaſe: by which one intire day will be gained for her returning up the river, which will allways be very convenient to the hands, and in ſhort days and a high Freſh may be abſolutely neceſsary to enſure their arrivel at Marietta in Due time; for the Defference in aſsending the river when the Water is in a proper ſtate; and in a high freſh I believe is full one third in point of time, and one half as it reſpects the labour of the hands. I have no doubt of the preſent Plans ſucceeding for ſix or eight month of the year provided the boats are not obliged to waite at Wheeling and Preſton beyond the hour appointed: and if the alteration which I have ſugested can be effected and punctuality on the part of the Post riders below and from Pitts burgh Produced I am very confident that compleat ſuccess will attend the Boats: except in ſome few inſtences in the Dead of Winter when Poſſibley the Ice in the river may prevent their paſsage

on enquirey I find the Distence between Gallipolis

and Lime Stone was not the only reaſon why Boate N° 3 has ſo often failed of being up in time: for generally they might have performed the voige if the hands had exarted themſelves in a proper maner; want of industry and ſubordination among the Crew and in ſome inſtences Deſerting the Boat with the Difficulty of procuring other hands in that quarter to ſupply the Deficiency, there frequently haveing Paſsengers on Bord, are among the circumſtances that have contributed to the Miſsfortune to which may be aded that haveing a more Dangerous and harder ſervice to perform then the other Boats, it opperated as a Discouragement and gave them a pretext for excuſe. But I trust most of theſe Difficulties are removed or will be overcom by the arrangment I have proposed. for in the execution of the Plan it is intended that Boat N° 1 ſhall take her Tour Down to Preſton with the other Boats, (and the reaſon why this circumſtance is not taken Notice of in the first inſtence is becauſe I am told that the Crew of that Boate ware engaged for the perticuler part of the river they now occupy and I did not think proper to ordor them on a more ſevear ſervice untill I ſhall have an oppertunity of Speeking with them) however I have no doubt but they will comply (if not others will eaſily be procured) And the Service of the Boats being perfectly equel, not only all ground of complaint on that head will be removed but emulation excited, and being all under the imediate inſpection of one man, any delinquency or other improper conduct among the hands will be more eaſily discovered and if Neceſsary the party discharged with out hazord: for industrous ſober men may always be had in this quarter in caſe of emergency. And as I know, from my own experience of the Navagation that it is practicable for the

boats to perform every think required of them by the System proposed, no excuſe for any Failure (under ordinay circumſtances) will be admitted, except Detention from the Deputy Postmaster or other Perſons from whome they are to recive the Mails. and in ordor the better to Detect any Delinquency that may happen among the boat people I beg leave to Sugest to the Post Master General the propriety of his inſtructing the Deputy Postmasters with in the range of theſe boats to forward a note with each Mail to the Post office at Marietta ſtateing the time of each Boates arrivel and Departure, with the cauſe of Detention if any beyond the proper hour. —

As to 2 out of 4 hands of Boate N° 1 being left at home &c I am told the fact is other wiſe. 4 hands inſtead of 5 has in one or two inſtences come down in her to Marietta, which was undoubtedly wrong becauſe the riſeing of the water is always ſo uncertain it never ought to be trusted. however if the plan I have proposed ſhould be approved of by the Postmaster general and this Boat takes its tour down the river I belive the Service will be ſevear enough

you mention in your letter that Major Craige will be defiered to pay the men &c, but ſay northing of the mode or maner how or by whom the accounts are to be certifyed and the money Drawn: If I may be indulged with giveing an opinion on this head, I Should recommend that M^r^ Meigs the Deputy Postmaster at Marietta ſhould be Charged with this buſineſs as his ſituation will enable him to do it with leſs trouble to himſelf then any other person, as well as to guard against any impoſition or claim for ſervice which was never performed —

you tell me "It has ben ſugested to you that the Male Boats are hevy &c" at preſent it is my opinion

that they are not the best that Can be conſtructed, and as ſoon as I can fix my own mind on the ſize and form of one which I dare reſque my reputation on recommending I ſhall write you fully on the ſubject

I am &c

P. S. punctuality it is hoped will attend the post riders above and below. the boat masters are however inſtructed to waite for the mails they are to re[c]ive and even to puſh as far as Lime Stone if neceſsary

R PUTNAM

PLAN ADOPTED BY GENERAL PUTNAM FOR THE CARRAGE OF THE MAIL BETWEEN WHEELING & PRESTON ON THE OHIO RIVER

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

Being Requested and Duely authorized by General Pickering to Take the Direction of the Mail Boats on the ohio river between Wheeling and Preſton or Grahams ſtation. In ordor to procure an efficient Carrage of the Mail between thoſe places, The following regulations are to take place from and after Sunday the First day of March next — viz one Boat to ply as heretofore between Wheeling and Marietta: and the other two between Marietta and Preſton and to commence and purſue their opperations in the follow ordor untill the ſame ſhall be altered or Discontinued by the Postmaster General or other Proper authorety:—

First Boat N° 1 Will Leave Marietta every Monday Morning at Five oClock or on the evening before if She chuſes. She will make her paſsage up the river ſo as to Deliver the Mail at the Post office at Wheeling the next Wednesday Evening, unleſs a very

extreordinary Freſh in the river ſhall render it empracticable which will very ſildom if ever happen. She will leave Wheeling every Saturday at three oClock in the afternoon and arrive at Marietta the Next evening by Six oClock.

Secondly Boat N° 2 will leave Marietta on Monday the 2d of March at five oClock in the morning (or the evening before if She chuses) She will arrive at Preſton the Thursday following by Twelve oClock Delive[r] the Mail, and return (with the one from below) to Marietta the next Sunday Sennight by five oClock in the afternoon.

Boat N° 3 Will leave Marietta on Monday the ninth of March at five oClock in the Morning, or on the evening before as She Chuses, Proceed to Preſton in the ſame maner and return to Marietta with in the time preſcribed for N° 2. And thus the Boats N° 2 & 3 are to follow each other in reguler rotation whereby one of them will arrive at Marietta every Sunday evening or before, and the other at Preſton every Thursday by Twelve oClock. theſe Boats both in going Down and returning up the river will Deliver the mail at the Post office at Gallipolis which the post Master must redeliver in one hour that the Boats may proceed on their voige

Thirdly No Perſon is on any account to be permitted to take paſsage in either of the Mail Boats when aſsending the river For as every increeſe of Weight must neceſsarily retard the progreſs of the Boats, the paſsage of conſequence will be longer as well as more tedious and render their arrivel in Due time uncertain —

The ſeveral boat Masters and hands must never fale to purſue their voyage up the river with Diligence lest an unexpected Riſe of water Should pre-

vent their arrivel at the place of Distination with in the time limetted —

MARIETTA February 17th 1795

N B General Pickering has wrote to Mr John and George Graham at Preſton to recive the Mail from the boats and to Deliver the one from below, and Colo Marſhel has Direction to ſend the Mail from below forward to Preſton. but as its unſertain whether Colo Marſhel has recived General Pickering letters in time to put the buſineſs in train ſo ſoon as the first of March: the Boats No 2 and 3 will proceed to Lime Stone unleſs they shall meet the Mail at Preſton or they be informed by Missers Graham that it is expected at Preſton in conſequence of Meaſurs adopted by Colo Marſ[he]l for that Purpus —

LETTER FROM COLO PICKERING

General Post Office PHILAA
March 25. 1795.

Dear Sir.

I have received your favour of Febr 20th[1] It was due the 21ſt inſtant but ſome obstruction, I ſuppose at the Susquehannah or other waters, prevented its arrival till the 23d.

I am much obliged by your attention to the Ohio mail: I doubt not the arrangement you have made will prove ſucceſsful.

As the immediate direction of the buſineſs will be at Marietta, and the performance of duty by the boatmen be there aſcertained; and as the boats No 2. & No 3. as well as No 1. arrive there in their turns, it will certainly be proper to have them paid there. This I shall adviſe to have done, thro' Mr Meigs the

[1] Page 398.

INTERIOR OF THE OHIO COMPANY'S LAND OFFICE

poſtmaster, as you ſuggest — until a new Poſtmaster General shall otherwiſe direct.

I have thought that as soon as peace shall be made with the Indians north of the Ohio, the mail might be carried by land — not only incomparably cheaper, but with more expedition & certainty. I wiſh you to think of this matter, and of the moſt eligible route. — I feel much confidence that we ſhall have peace with the Indians; and then I ſuppose ferries will be established by settlers at all the deep waters to facilitate the paſsing of travellers.

I am, Sir,
with great respect & esteem
Your ob^{t} ſervant
TIMOTHY PICKERING

General RUFUS PUTNAM.

LETTER FROM SECRETARY AT WAR

WAR-OFFICE March 25. 1795.

Sir.

Inclosed is a copy of my letter of this date to Governor S^{t} Clair.[1] He may be absent; and hence your advice to Col^{o} Sproat on the ſubject may be the more needful. At all events, I could wiſh your judgement interposed, in the considering of the numbers of militia really neceſsary to be employed in guarding your ſettlements on and about the Muskingum, & at Gallipolis, from ſurprize and injury by the Indians. If the Governor be absent, I shall desire Col^{o} Sproat to conſult you, & to let the ſteps he shall take receive your approbation, before he proceeds to execute any plan of defence. I hope you will excuse my troubling you in this and other matters of public concern. The only apology I can make is, that mea-

[1] See *The St. Clair Papers*, vol. ii. p. 338.

sures which receive your approbation, will be calculated to promote the public intereſts, which, especially in distant places, are too often sacrificed to private views. — I also inclose a copy of my letter to Col° Sproat:[1] and am, very respectfully,

Sir,

Your moſt ob^t ſervant

TIMOTHY PICKERING

General RUFUS PUTNAM

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE SEC^Y OF WAR TO COL SPROAT[2]

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

(Copy)

WAR OFFICE March 25 1795

Sir

I have received your Letter of the 23^d February, relative to the Militia Guards and Scouts for the defence of the Settlements on and about the Muskingum and at Gallipolis My Ideas on the ſubject are contained in the enclosed Copy of my Letter of this Date to Governor S^t Clair. Should he be absent, I request you, before you take any order in the Buſineſs to consult Gen^l Putnam. His knowledge of the Country, and his judgment and experience as a military man, will be useful; and his approbation of the Plan of defence you shall propose to adopt, while it gives confidence to you in their propriety, will ensure the public approbation

The Rations furnished by contract, are to be delivered at Pittsburg and Fort Washington — All other Places are to be supplied from those two. Muskingum and Gallipolis will depend on Pittsburg. As soon therefore as the number of Men to be employed

[1] Page 406.

[2] Ebenezer Sproat was the superintendent of the military affairs of the United States in Washington County, Northwest Territory.

as aforementioned shall be determined on, it will be neceſsary for you to give immediate information thereof to Major Craig, as well as to this office —

The pay of the Militia in Service is augmented — A Copy of the act regulating it is enclosed.

I am Sir,
Your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
Signed
TIMOTHY PICKERING
Sec^{y} of War

P S. I have read a Letter to you from my predeceſsor, dated the 26th [?] of last November — The documents which he then declared neceſsary to be rendered by you relative to the expenditure of Public Money placed in your hands, have not yet appeared; and he aſsured you, that until they were rendered, no further advances could be made. Let it suffice for me to remind you of this.

Col EBENEZER SPROAT

COPY OF LETTER TO COL^{O} SPROAT

MARIETTA April 15th 1795

Sir

In compliance with your request, agreably the instructions of the Secretary at War, that in the absence of the govenor you Should obtain my opinion reſpecting the Military defence neceſsary to be keept up for the protection of the Settlements in this quarter and Gallipolis, haveing considered the Subject in every point of view in which it has Struck my mind I am of opinion That under present circumstancs and prospects, the permenant or Stationary Militia Guards at all the Stations may very well be dispenced with; that a few Spyes or Scout men under proper direction will afford every reaſonable Protection

against the Small Sculking parties of Savages which will doubtleſs continue to infeſt the Settlements more or leſs in ordor to take Scalps, Steal horses and drive of Cattle as heretofore untill a general peace is eſtabliſhed or prehaps untill Detroit is in our hands or our post are extended down the Miami So as to render Detroit & other British post leſs convenient for carrying our Cattle to Market then at present

the number of Spies I Should recommend to Scout in the Vicinity of Marietta Belleprie and Waterford is 12 to be disposed of in the following maner — viz

4 to have their rendezvos at Goodales Sation at Belleprie and
4 at Col° Olivers Mills on Wolf Creek

} the distence between theſe places is between 17 & 18 mils

each of theſe parties Should in alternate rotation Scout Quite acroſs the Country from one of thoſe Stations to the other. thoſe who randezvos at Goodales During the Tour of the other party between the Stations, Should Scout bak of Sawyers and Newbury Station as far [as] the Water of the Great Hockhocking — and thoſe who randezvos at Olivers Mills during the tour of the Belleprie party between the Stations Should be employed in Scouting up the West Branch of Wolf Creek and from thence acroſs to the Muskingum as high as the Big Bottom, or at lest as the Standing Rock and from thence acroſs the great Bend to the Muskingum again opposit Shermans Station and from thence to there randezvos at the Mills. theſe Scouts if they do there duty (of which doubtleſs you will inform your ſelf by Col° Oliver at the mills and ſome other Militia officer at Belleprie under whoſe imediate inſpection I advis

you to place them) will I concive be ſufficient on our weſt Bordor — and for our Northern & Eastern Q[u]arter I would recommend two Spies to randezvos at Shermans Station above Waterford and two at Chapmans Station on Duck Creek to be employed in Scouting in rotation between thoſe Station in the Same maner as it is proposed for the other between goodals, and Ollivers mills. Thoſe at Chapmans during the toure of the other party between the Stations, to Scout ſouthward to the Ohio and Northward as far as the Forks of Duck Creek and thoſe who randezvos at Shermans in like [?] maner to Scout on the North Eastern Side of Muskingu[m] as high as Meigs Creek and Back of Waterford Settlements as [far] down as Judge Devols Station

With reſpect to Gallipolis if 4 Spies are keept Scouting every day back of the Settlement, as far up the ohio as by Kenhawa and occationally croſsing Chickamaga and puſhing Westward and Southerly as far a[s] Racoon in the preſent compact State of that Settlement I concive we ought to expect that no other military force is neceſsary for their protection

it may be well however not to dismiſs your present guard untill the end of the present month and in the mean time make your arrangements for engageing your Spies in caſe you Should adopt the Ideas which I have Sugested ———

Col° SPROAT

LETTER TO OLIVER WOLCOTT

MARIETTA May 12th 1796

Sir

by the papers herewith enclosed you will perceive that the Lands proposed by the act of Congreſs, of

the 3d of March 1795, to be granted to the French inhabitens of Gallipolis, are Surveyed and aſsigned to the Several perſons entitled thereto (as I trust) agreably to the intention of the aforementioned act & your inſtructions of the 29th of September 1795 — Mr Martin met me at Galliopolis the 2d of November and within a few days comenced his Survey which he compleeted as Soon as could be expected, but from an Ill State of helth as he informs me he was not able to make the returns before the 25th ulta. I proceeded to galliopolis as Soon as I could with convenience and the Several lots ware aſsigned to individuals on the 3d inſtent in maner Certified in the list of Drafts and I beleeve the whole buſineſs has ben conducted to the intire ſatisfaction of all concerned —

Mr Martin States the Distence run in executing this Survey to be 152 miles, 72 chains & 98 links and the time neceſsarely employed in makeing Duplicate plans & Certificets 34 days.

my agreement with him was to excute the Survey at the rate of Three Dollers per mile for every mile actually run including the pay of aſsistents and all expence of the Survey and for makeing Duplicate plans and Certificats of the courſe distencs & Boundaries — two Dollers per day for the neceſsry time. I have furniſhed Mr Martin with a Certificate of the compenſation Contracted for and that he has executed the Surveys agreably to the act of Congress and returned Duplicate plans Certifecits &c to me but refered him to the Treaſury Department for auditing his acct which I ſupposed was your expectation the other Plat & Minuts or Certifecates of the Survey I Shall agreably to the act and your inſtruction return to the Secretary of the Teritory

LETTER FROM SEC^{Y} STATE

(private) DEPARTMENT OF STATE Sept. 30. 1796.

Dear Sir.

Accompanying this you will receive a letter covering a commiſsion conſtituting you Surveyor General of the United States:[1] I hope the appointment will be acceptable to you. The act of Congreſs establishing this office and describing its duties you will receive with your commiſsion. Contemplating a vacancy by this appointment on the judicial bench of the north western territory, I take the liberty of asking from you the names and places of residence, in the territory, of the gentlemen who may be considered as candidates for the office of judge, with your opinion of those who for their character, talents and integrity are entitled to a preference: but particularly I request your opinion of M^{r} Gilman, your neighbour. I forget his christian name; but I mean the gentleman who married Miſs Ives of Salem. I once knew them both, & that they were much respected. M^{r} Gilman must be now more than fifty years old. I beg you to write me freely & fully, as you may in confidence, only for the President's information. I consider *Sobriety* in a judge as an *eſsential* quality to enſure respect to the law and the government. The notorious want of it in one of your bench may occaſion another vacancy; which is the reason that I enquire for more than one candidate. Be ſo good as to write me as early as poſsible.

I am with ſincere respect and esteem

D^{r} Sir, your ob^{t} ſerv^{t}

General RUFUS PUTNAM T. PICKERING

P. S. Do you know of any respectable man, qualified

[1] Page 412.

for a judge, who is not at present, but is going to become an inhabitant of your territory?[1]

LETTER FROM SECYTY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1. October 1796.

Sir,

The President of the United States desiring to avail the public of your ſervices as Surveyor General, I have now the honor of enclosing the Commiſsion, and of expreſsing to you the ſentiments of the most perfect respect and esteem with which

I am, Sir,
Your most obt Servant
TIMOTHY PICKERING

RUFUS PUTNAM Esqr
Surveyor General
of the U S.

COPY OF LETTER TO COL PICKERING

MARIETTA October 15th 1796

Sir

Your favor of the First inſtent[2] encloſeing a Commiſsion from the Preſident of the united States by which he is pleaſed to honour me with the office of Surveyor General was duely recived —

this expretion of the Preſidents good opinion of my integrity and abilities demands my warmest acknowledgments, and I wiſh him to be informed that I most ſincealy thank him for the appointment. But as I

[1] In his confidential reply to this letter General Putnam suggested the names of Joseph Gilman, Peregrine Foster, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., and Dudley Woodbridge as citizens of the Territory who would be suitable judicial candidates. He also mentioned Colonel Ives, of Great Barrington, and William Judd, of Farmington, as prospective settlers qualified for the office. Joseph Gilman was appointed General Putnam's successor.

[2] Page 412.

concive my acceptence of this office will or may be ſupposed to vacate that of Judge, the intrest of the Goverment requires that I ſhould delay the matter a few days Becauſe the General Court of the Teritory ought to Set in this County next week which it cannot do without my attendence — but as Soon as this Court is over I Shall accept the appointmet Shall take the oath of office required by Law & be ready to recive your further communication

T PICKERING

LETTER FROM M^R HABERSHAM POST MASTER GENERAL

General Post Office
PHILADEL^A Dec^r 16. 1796.

Sir

Col. Pickering delivered me your Letter to him of the 11^th of June on the subject of the Ohio Mail and I am much obliged to him for thus introducing to my acquaintance a Gentleman of your character and Information

For some time I had determined to drop the route down the Ohio and resume that through the Wilderneſs as leſs expensive and more certain, for the many failures which happened during the course of last Winter in a great measure interrupted the intercourse with the North Western Territory and the State of Kentucky, and tended to destroy all confidence in that Mail — Some obstacles however have occurred to resuming the route through the Wilderneſs, which determined me to make a further trial of that down the Ohio, especially as I had an opportunity of placing the Contract in the hands of M^r Greene in whom I have the most perfect confidence. M^r Greene is of opinion that light and safe Boats may be constructed to be navigated with fewer hands to much greater advan-

tage in stemming the current of the Ohio than those hitherto employed which he represents as quite unfit for that service. I have agreed to allow him an additional Boat and to provide four new ones at the public expence on the construction which he thinks will answer best. The mails should be carried in Portmanteaus as in case of accidents they can be most conveniently removed and I presume the Boats will be large enough to admit of boxes fixed in such a manner as will secure the Mails from water — if boxes are made, to render them perfectly secure, it will be neceſsary to have them covered with oil cloth.

I now enclose you a Blank Bond, Oaths and Contract and I have to request the favor of you to see them executed by M^r^ Greene. This Contract is only to continue for a Year at the expiration of which time I think it is probable that the Mail will be carried on M^r^ Zanes route from Wheeling to Limestone — this road I am told is already opened and has been paſsed by some persons who represent the distance to be about Two Hundred Miles. in this event Marietta may be accomodated with a croſs Post to connect with the route from Wheeling to Limeston

I shall thank you for any information you can give me respecting this road.

I have been very free in writing to you respecting this buſineſs as I know how much you are interested in having the Mail regularly carried on the Ohio and as I cannot write particularly by this Post to M^r^ Greene I will thank you to shew him the contents of this Letter.

I am with much esteem
Sir
Y^r^ mo. ob^t^ Serv^t^
JOS. HABERSHAM

General RUFUS PUTNAM.

COPY OF LETTER TO MR. HABERSHAM

MARIETTA January 25th 1787 [1797]

Sir

your favor of the 16th ult[1] with its encloſures ware duely recived. I ſhall allways eſteam myſelf happy in rendering any ſervis, or giveing ſuch information as is in my power to the officers of goverment, and am certainly as much obliged to Colo Pickering for introduceing me to an acquaintence with the Post Master General as you poſſibly can be.

I have ben long ſensible of the unavoidable interruption of a regular Mail on the ohio by Water in the Winter ſeaſon. I know alſo that there has ben a few failures in the boate between Gallipolis & Preston, partly from the great distence and partly from the negligence of the boat men I know likewiſe that there has ben many failures of the Mail arriving at Wheeling from Pittsburgh in due ſeason but from what cauſe I cannot ſay. but under your Contract with Mr Greene I think there will be no failure except what ariſes from circumſtances unavoidable. the preſent winter is extreamly unfavorable, the ohio has ben ſhut up with Ice for a long time no Boat has or could paſs for many weeks what Mails has arrived have ben transported on the back of Footmen there being no horſe road on the ohio open for any conſiderable Distence —

I believe a road from Wheeling by Marietta to Preſton (or Limeſtone) will in proceſs of time be opened which which will be a few miles neerer then that opened by Colo Zanes; but I much doubt if it ever ought to be made the general Post Road to Kentuckey and the Northwest Territory Becauſe Zanes Road untill it reaches the Hockhocking river

[1] Page 413.

(or a roade very nearly in that rout) penetrates into the very hart of the Country which agreably to the ordinance of Congreſs is to compoſe the South eaſtern Diſtrict or New State Northwest of the River ohio and is alſo the proper rout to Post Vencent on the Wabaſh & Kaſkaskias on the Miſſiſippi indeed ſo far as I am acquainted with the Geography of the Country at or not far from where Zanes Road croſses the Hockhocking is a very central poſiſition from whence to communicate by Croſs posts to different places — to Lime Stone it will be about one hundred mile, to Cincinnati one hundred & fifteen — to Fort Hamilton one hundred and ten — to Greenevill one hundred & Twenty five and about the ſame to Loremers [Loramie's] Store from whence is the portage to S^{t} Mary^{s} Creek Leading to Fort Wayne &c — ſo that if I am not Decived in the Geography of the Country which I believe I am not Marietta and the other places on the Ohio between Wheeling [and] Limeſtone ought to be content with Croſs posts communi-[ca]teing with a generel Post Road paſsing through the hart of the Country not far from where Zanes has opened his Road — however in the courſe of the preſent year I expect to be more correctly informed of the Geography of the Country in general and of Zanes Road in pirticuler then I am at preſent, and ſhall not fail to communicate to you every matter which may be of conſequence in Ditermining the rout of the Mails in this quarter after the preſent year —

M^{r} Greenes Contract Bond and oath I here with encloſe

I am with much eſteem
Sir
Y^{r} M^{o} Ob^{t} Serv^{t}

JOSEPH HABERSHAM Esq^{r}
Post Master Gen^{l} —

LETTER FROM COL° PICKERING

PHILADELPHIA March 17, 1797.

Dear Sir,

The post-master general informs me that M^r^ Green, the contractor for carrying the mail on the Ohio, has failed in the execution of his contract; and from the information he has received, he is fearful that it will never be duly executed. The disappointments which have happened ſince the river has been open, already excite much uneaſineſs. If I mistake not, M^r^ Green had your recommendation. At any rate, as well as a public officer to whom a regular and expeditious paſsage of the mail will be very intereſting, as an inhabitant of the Ohio country, and a well-wiſher to every uſeful public inſtitution, I am ſure you will cheerfully promote any measures which may be proper to remedy the mischief complained of. Permit me then to request, that you will take the trouble to enquire into this matter, and ascertain whether M^r^ Green can and will in future execute his contract with punctuality; and if either power or disposition be wanting, that you will have the goodneſs to expreſs the ſame freely, either to the poſtmaster general, or to me. — The late Postmaster at Marietta, M^r^ Meigs, is I believe, M^r^ Green's ſurety.

I am ſorry to give you this trouble, and more ſorry that there ſhould be occasion for it. If M^r^ Green cannot execute the contract, he had better frankly give it up. He muſt *execute* or *renounce* it. I know that the poſtmaster general cannot and ought not to ſuffer ſuch material failures without being obliged, as well by a ſenſe of duty as the complaints of the public, to attempt, and promptly, to provide a remedy. — The measures of the poſtmaster general will, I

believe, much depend on your communications; which I therefore request may be ſpeedily made.

With true esteem & respect
I am, dear ſir,
Your obᵗ ſervant
TIMOTHY PICKERING

RUFUS PUTNAM Esqʳ

LETTER FROM COLᴼ PICKERING

PHILADELPHIA March 17. 1797.

Dear Sir.

Biſhop Ettwein, President of the incorporated Society of Brethren in the United States aſsociated for propagating the gospel among the Heathen, has written me on the 11th inſtant, that the Directors of the Society, being very desirous to have ſurveyed, the lands granted to the Society on the Muskingum, comprehending the Christian Indian towns of Salem, Gnaden Hutten & Schoenbrun, that thoſe Indians may resume their ſettlements there without delay, have appointed Meſsʳˢ John Heckewelder (whom you know) and William Henry Esqʳ (a member of the Society and a very worthy man) their deputies, to attend the ſurvey of those lands, and the subdiviſion thereof to accommodate the ſettlers. The bishop has requested me to addreſs a few lines to you, doubtleſs in the expectation of its facilitating the execution of the part of the buſineſs depending on you: but you will need no urging to perform a public duty. At the ſame time I persuade myself that it will not be a matter of indifference with you to gratify my wiſhes, in giving dispatch to a buſineſs which will not interfere with any ſuperior duty. And as this will, I imagine, be a service quite detached from any other, a ſurveyor may at once be designated to perform it.

The deputies will defray the expence, in the first inſtance. — This letter will be handed to you by Meſſrs Heckewelder & Henry, whose known merit authorises me to recommend them to your attention: and I shall take the liberty of sending you a copy by this day's post, by which means you will have time to make the proper dispositions for their affairs, againſt their arrival. They propose to ſet off in about three weeks.

I am, dear ſir,
with ſincere respect & esteem,
your obt ſervant
TIMOTHY PICKERING

RUFUS PUTNAM Esqr
Surveyor General of the U. States

COPY OF LETTER TO MR WOLCOTT

MARIETTA December 2d 1797

Sir

I herewith encloſe the plans of three tracts of Land which I have caused to be Surveyed for Ebenezer Zane agreably to the act of Congreſs entitled "An Act To authorize Ebenezer Zane to Locate certain Lands in the Teritory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio" and in purſuence of your inſtruction of the 14th of June 1796.

I have not traveled the Road my ſelf but have ben credibly informed that it is opened to a proper width — when I met Colo Zane on the Muskingum in ordor to fix on the general rout, I was very deſierous to have the road Croſs the Muskingum at the mouth of Salt Creek ten mile below McCollock Ferry where it now Croſses — but from the apperance of the Country west of Muskingum and from the aſſureance of people acquented with the Country further west I

was led to believe that it was best on the whole that the road ſhould Croſs the Muskingum neer the mouth of Licking althoe ſomething further about and accordingly consented it ſhould Croſs there.

I have ſence had ſome reaſon to believe that a road may be had to Croſs the Muskingum neer the mouth of Salt Creek, as I first proposed, but I have not had oppertunity ſence I recived the information to aſsertain the fact. that the Road ought to croſs the Hockhocking and Sioto at the places where it now does I have no doubt and that the general course is right I have no doubt except the bend made in Croſsing the Muſkingum as before mentioned of this I have at preſent ſome doubts, althoe I had none at the time I agreed it ſhould croſs at Licking

Whether admitting the general courſe of the road to be good, it is opened in all inſtences on the best ground is hard to ditermin. in a covered Country altho great pains is taken we must be very fortunate if we dont fall into many errors. —

I have the honor to be with great Reſpect
Sir your most obedient
Serv[t]

The Honb[l]
OLIVER WOLCOTT Esq[r]
Secretary of the Treaſury

LETTER TO M[R] WOLCOTT

MARIETTA January 18[th] 1798

Sir

I herewith forward my account for the Last quarter of the year 1797, with Sundry Vouchers of payment. among the Items you will observe two hundred & fifty Dollars paid to W[m] Rufus Putnam[1] for his Servis ſix months as Clark or aſsistent in the Sur-

[1] William Rufus Putnam was the eldest living son of General Putnam.

veyor Generals office. In your letter of the 14th of March Last you observe "that a Clark would be necessary" and whoever will attend to the requirements in the latter part of the Second Section of the Law which points out the duty of the Surveyor General, must be convinced that he must have a Clark or aſsistent in his office capable of Protracting & casting the contents of Platts in the first inſtence as well as Copying and recording plans & minuts in a neat & accurate maner That without ſuch an aſsistent it will be impoſſible that the requirments of the Law can be complied with in a reaſonable time & maner.

I am ſencible there is no expreſs provision for Clarkship in this office but from the mode of expreſsion in that part of the Law above mentioned (viz to *Cause* certain things to be don) as well as the Number of Plans & Descriptions to be made and recorded, with the number of Copies it is incumbent on the Surveyor General to furnish; one of which is to be *keept open at his office* for *public information:* I even concived that the Neceſsary expence of Clarkship was to be alowed togather with Stationary as in other departments: under this impreſsion I accepted the office and althoe you informed me that you was not authorized to Stipulate for the United States in this buſineſs, yet in confidence that Congreſs would authorize any neceſsary and reaſonable expence (as ſoon as the buſineſs of the department was ſo far advanced as to require it) I contracted with Mr Putnam at the rate of Five hundred dollars a year: an allowance as moderate I believe as any person capable of the buſineſs can be procured for

If you are not already authorized to alow this and

the like Charge for Clarkſhip in future I must request you to lay the matter before Congreſs for there consideration: that I may in future govern my ſelf agreably to there Ditermination; when the expence of the frequent tours which I have and ſhall be obliged to make in to the woods and which are unavoidable in the due execution of the Surveys — the expence of attending the Sales of Land at Pitts burge & Cincinnatia, with the ocational Jornies that must be mad to the Seete of Govermt with all the expence of keeping an office open &c &c are deducted from the present Sallery: the ballance remaining will be found to be but a very moderate compenſation for the time & Servis of any man capable of fulfilling the dutis of the office of Surveyor Gen[l] and therfore I trust it will not be expected that I should Charge myſelf with the expence of a Clark with out an alowance from Govermt therefor —

Stationary is another article I ever expected would be furnished on public account. by your direction M[r] Nourse has furnished me with ſome paper and Minute Books I wish to know if I am to apply to him for what Stationary I may want, or if I am at liberty to ſupply my ſelf and Charge the United States —

In my Letter of December 2[d] [1] I informed you that two of the Surveyors employed in runing out the Military tract had completed there work in the woods (these ware, Mathews and Jackson who had the two Smaller or midle Districts) Ludlow, Martin & Biggs I have heard northing from for ſeveral months the Severity of the Season I fear must have driven them out of the woods before they compleated there

[1] Page 419.

work, and if ſo they will not be able to make there return before the opening of the Spring —

I am with great Reſpect
Sir your most obedient
Servent

Honb[l]
OLIVER WOLCOTT Esqur Secretary of the Treaſurey

LETTER TO M[R] WOLCOTT

MARIETTA March 9[th] 1798

Sir

I have lately recived a Letter from Capt Ludlow informing me that he had compleated the Survey of the Western District of Military lands and that his returns will be ready in a Short time. —

Martain and Biggs have disappointed me exceedingly they both commenced there Surveys last June and by contract were to compleat them in four months which they might eaſily have don if no miſfortune or negligence had taken place. their Districts were ſeperate althoe their Contract was Jo[i]nt. Martain is more then two thirds in arear and Biggs neerly one half. Capt Biggs excuſe is that he was taken Sick the Second of August and obliged to retire from the woods and was not able to reaſume his work untill the 23[d] of october and that he was obliged to quit again on the 22[d] of November on account of the Severity of the wether: he aſsures me that he will be out again this Spring as Soon as the Season will permit — —

Capt Martain I have not yet Seen: but learn that he left the woods ſometime in July or august and has not ben out Sence of which circumſtance I had no notice untill within a few weeks his excuſe is Sick-

neſs in his Family: but I find this must have ben late in the fall and I apprehend after the time had elapsed which by contract he ought to have compleated his work in the field: Capt Martin has formerly executed ſome ſurveys for the united States with accuracy and punctuallity which induced me to give him a District in preference to ſome others but at preſent I am quite dissatisfied with his conduct and if he does not exert himſelf to compleat [the] Survey of his District early this Spring I Shall employ ſome other means to effect it— — —

With Reſpect to the other public lands my intention is to Survey in the Course of the present year all the lands lying ſouth of the Military tract and west of the Ohio Companys purchas and the Seven Ranges extending Westward as far as the Sioto River, eſtemated at about 3.150.000 acres the Survey of this tract will employ Six Surveyrs and arangements are makeing accordingly —

I alſo propose to Survey in the course of the present year that tract of land lying below the Great Miami River and above the mouth of Kentuckey River extending West toward the Indian boundary as far as Shall be judged prudent without giveing Cauſe of alarm: at the Same time by runing out one or two Rangs of Townſhips on the West Side of the great Miami extending as far North a[s] Fort Recovery and the Fork of Lorimis [Loramie's] Creek I ſhall be able to aſsertain the true course of the Indian Boundary line without the Expenc of runing a random line as we ware obliged to do at the Northward — — — —

as Soon as this is don General Wilkenson will be notified of the time and place when & where we Shall

be ready to commince runing the Indian boundary line from the Fork of Loremies Creek to Fort Recovery and thence to the ohio agreably to Gen[l] Waynes Treaty —

As Soon as the Indian boundary lines are compleated it is intended to compleat as Soon as may be the Survey of the whol tract of land west of the great Miami included within thoſe boundary Lines

I have the honor to be with due reſpect
Sir
your obedient
Servent
RUFUS PUTNAM

The Honb[l]
OLIVER WOLCOTT Esqr Secretary of the Treaſury

M[R] WOLCOTTS LETTER

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
June 1[st] 1798. —

Sir.

Your letter of the 21[st] of April last, has been duly received. —

It is to be regretted, that the progreſs made in the Survey of the military lands, has not been such as I had reason to expect — I shall fully rely upon your exertions for urging the persons employed in that buſineſs to complete their Districts so as to enable you to return a general platt to this Office.

I have not seen your letter of the 18[th] of January last,[1] enclosing your Accounts — With respect however to the charge for Clerkship, I can only observe, that altho' no expreſs provision has been made by

[1] Page 420.

Law for that object, I am of opinion — that the aſsistance of a Clerk is indispensably neceſsary. —

I am with consideration
Sir,
Your mo: Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
OLIV: WOLCOTT.

RUFUS PUTNAM Esq^{re}
Surveyor General of the
United States
Marietta —

FROM M^{R} PICKERING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, August 2, 1798.

Sir,

You will doubtleſs have observed in the newspapers a resolve of Congreſs directing the printing and distribution of ten thousand copies of the instructions to and dispatches from the Envoys of the U. States to the French Republic, under the orders of the Secretary of State. The object of the resolve is, to communicate such important information to the citizens of the United States; "particularly in such parts thereof wherein the diſsemination of information, through the medium of news-papers, is most obstructed." The most beneficial distribution, I have thought, could be made by some well informed and faithful citizen in each state. To such gentlemen I have concluded to transmit them. And to render the distribution easy and expeditious, I have caused them to be made up in packets of *five* and *ten* and franked them; so that the persons to whom I send them, may have no other trouble than to direct the packets to gentlemen, in all parts of their respective states, on whose care and fidelity they can rely, for the most prompt and useful distribution to individual citizens; who after reading the dispatches themselves, will put

them into the hands of their neighbours; to give all poſsible extent to the important knowledge the dispatches will convey.

Having given this explanation of the views of Congreſs, and of my own ideas of the best manner of fulfilling them, you will permit me to transmit to you the packets mentioned below destined for distribution in the Marietta District, and to request that you will have the goodneſs to complete their superscription, and put them into the proper train for conveyance.

As the gentlemen to whom you will addreſs the packets will need information of the design and plan of distributing these pamphlets, and it would be too troublesome for you to write a letter to each, I send herewith as many printed and franked copies of a letter, adapted to the object, to be signed by you, as there are packets committed to your care. I think it will be a fair construction of the resolve, to distribute the pamphlets not only where few or no news-papers circulate, but where news-papers of a tendency to mislead, by their falsehoods and misrepresentations have the freest circulation: for by *such* the correct "information" meant by Congreſs to be diſseminated, is "most obstructed"

I have the honor to be

P. S. I send 100 copies to Gov^{r} S^{t} Clair, to be distributed in the lower country of the N. W. Territory

with great respect Sir, your ob^{t} serv^{t} T. PICKERING

2 Packets containing 10 copies each — 20
6 Do - - - - Do - - - 5 - - - - D^{o} — 30

50

General RUFUS PUTNAM.

LETTER FROM M^R WOLCOTT

Treasury Department
TRENTON September 24, 1798.

Sir,

It has been represented to me, that a number of Persons from Kentucky, have formed an intrusive settlement on the lands lying Northwest of the Ohio — and above the mouth of the River Kentucky, in which the titles, of the Indian Tribes have been extinguished by the Treaty with General Wayne on the third of August 1795.

It being of the utmost importance to the United States, that all such lawleſs proceedings should be checked at the first outset — I have to request, that you will immediately take measures for ascertaining how far this representation is correct, and report the result of your enquiry to me. —

I hope you will be able to return the plans of the military lands in November next as mentioned in your letter of the 3^d of August last — that I may have it in my power to make a report thereon to Congreſs early in the Seſsion.

Enclosed is a packet for Jacob Burnet Esquire which you will be pleased to have conveyed to him. — It was rec^d by me from M^r Boudinot Director of the Mint

I am
Sir,
very respectfully
Your Mo: Obed^t Serv^t.
OLIV^R WOLCOTT.

RUFUS PUTNAM Esq.
Surveyor General
of the United States.

LETTER TO MR WOLCOTT

MARIETTA October 30th 1798

Sir

Sence receiveing your Letter of the 24th of September[1] I have had information, which may be depended on, that many persons have Set them Selves down on the Lands of the United States Northwest of the ohio, perticulerly in that tract lying Westerly of the ohio & Big Miami rivers & above the mouth of Kentucky river in which the titles of the Indian Tribes have ben extinguished. And also on the Easterly Side of the Sioto River it is Supposed the intrusive Settlers in these two districts amount to three hundred Families. it is Said they are chiefly emigrent from Kentucky and are daily increaseing

I am alſo informed that the profeſsed designe of the first of these Settlers was to purchas the lands on which they Set down as they Should be offered for Sale by the United States; but of late there are Some eſpecially among the later emigrents from Kentucky who Say they mean to hold the Lands for Settling on without purchasing; provided there numbers Should increese So far as to give them a prospect of Succeeding in a meaſure of that kind I do not understand that theſe sentem[en]ts are genrally & publickly avowed but I have it from a gentleman of whose verraſaty I can not doubt that Such Sentem[ent]s have ben expreſsed to him by Some of them

Besides theſe kind of Settlers in the places above described there are prehaps 50 or more Scattering families on the Waters of the Muskingum & other parts of the country, East of the Sioto who I believe have no connection with the other no[r] do I con-

[1] Page 428.

cive there is any Miſchief to be apprehended from them except the damage they may do in cultivating the land or destroying the timber belonging to the public

Yr

R PUTNAM

O WOLCOTT Es

TO J HABERSHAM

MARIETTA February 26th 1800

Sir

I herewith preſent you with a plan of a part of the Southeast division of the Northwest Teritory in which the local Situation of all the places in the Teritory, therein delineated, have ben aſsertained by actual Survey and the roads & distences from place to place may in general be depended on being in most caſes aſsertained by the boundary Lines of the Towns and Sections through which they paſs (except between the Sioto and little Miami Rivers of which tract of Country I have not any Minuts or plans of Survey & therefore the courſe of the roads and distences in this quarter are noted according to the information recived from others — the local Situation of the Post Towns noted in the plan, Situate in Pennſylvania &c is taken from Bradleys General Map of the United States, Except the distence from Marietta to Clarks burgh which has ben Meaſured —

a roade from Belleprie by Gallipolis to the mouth of Sioto was opened the last fall and a mail may now be very well carried by land from Wheeling by Marietta to Washington in Kentucky and the distence but nineteen miles further then by the rout the Mail at preſent Travels. the people on the Ohio are daly increasing very fast & new Towns & Counties

forming on both Side the river which at preſent recive little or no advantage from any public Mail except a few in the Vicinity of Marietta — — — —

I Should have wrote you on the Subject much ſooner but waited to be fully aſsertained of the road from Gallipolis to the mouth of Sioto being opened and the pratability of a Mail paſsing by that rout

I am with due conſideration
Sir your obedient
Servent
R PUTNAM

JOSEPH HABERSHAM Es

FROM M^R GALLATIN

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
June 26th 1802

Sir

A Law of last Seſsion having authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to lay out roads in the North-Western Territory, and having concluded to have one opened from Marietta in a North-easterly direction, I wish to know to which spot it would be most eligible to direct the same; due regard being had to the nature of the ground, to the advantage resulting to the inhabitants principally of Marietta and its vicinity, and to the effect it may have in promoting the sales of the public lands. — S^t Clairville, and the mouth of Wheling have appeared to me on a general view of the Map to be the most eligible. — I wish also to know what the expense will be for laying out and opening the same; on the two suppositions of a Waggon road twenty feet wide; or, of a horse road twelve feet wide. — As to the laying out, it would be most eligible that it should be done by order of the two County Courts, the United States paying only

the expense of the surveyor, which will leave so much more money to be applied to the opening of the road, and will secure its future maintainence. —

Another road in contemplation is from Opposite the mouth of Grave-Creek by Lancaster, the mouth of Walnut-Creek, and that of Mad-River to the Western Indian boundary. — That part extending to the Scioto is at present the only one under consideration; and if the ground is favorable, is to the United States the most eligible that can be opened; as the whole of it runs in a Western direct course through the center of the public lands. — Any information you may be poſseſsed of on that subject will be acceptable; and as connected with it, the knowledge of the several existing roads already opened or laid out through the country lying between the Scioto and the Steubenville district would be desirable. —

I have the Honor to be
with Respect
Sir
Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
ALBERT GALLATIN.

RUFUS PUTNAM Esq
Surveyor General
Marietta

P. S. In order to improve this season, I authorize you, if the road from Marietta to S^{t} Clairsville shall be thought the most useful in a northeasterly direction from Marietta, to contract for the opening of the same at once, provided that that share of the expense of laying out & surveying which shall be defrayed by the United States, shall not, together with the expence of opening the same 20 feet wide fit for a waggon with a common load to travel, exceed six dol-

lars per mile. Should a different course be more eligible, or the expense greater, you will be pleased to write the same to me, before you shall act thereupon.

A. G.

FROM M^R GALLATIN

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
August 9th 1802.

Sir,

M^r P. Foster has communicated his intention of resigning his office of register. The place is hardly worth having, though to a person residing in Marietta it may not be inconvenient to hold it. I will thank you to recommend two or three persons who may be willing to accept the appointment, and whose capacity and integrity may be relied on.

I am, very respectfully
Sir,
Your Obd^t Servant
— ALBERT GALLATIN

RUFUS PUTNAM Esqr.
Surveyor General
Marietta

TO M^R GALLATIN

MARIETTA August 18th 1802

Sir

Conceiving it might be a Service aceptable to you I have taken the liberty to transmit extracts from the minutes of Survey deſcribing the face of the country & quality of the Lands on & neer the courſes of the roads contmplated in your letter to me of June 26th [1] and alſo on ſome other courſes or routs for which inquiery has ben made at my office by request of M^r Hoge, Register of the Land office at Steubinville, &c &c — —

[1] Page 431.

Theſe extracts include a tract Several mile in wedth on each route deſcribed; and give a correct idea of the face of the country and quality of the Land: and by compairing them with the general plats in your office the probability of the ſale of Lands on and neer thoſe courses as well as the practicability of makeing roads may be better judged of then by any other means ſhort of a perſonal view —

Their is but little doubt of makeing a good road from Marietta to Wheeling; by a pritty direct courſe to S^{t} Clair-ville, the only difficulty apprehended is in the Sixth Townſhip of the Fifth Range, which has not ben Subdivided. if this proves broken & hilly, as reported, we may be obliged to keep more Westward and increaſe the distence prehaps two or three mile; at most

From the ohio opposit to grave Creek on a line Westward to Lancester untill we enter the Sixth Range the lands are Said to be very hilly and broken however a way is opened by which they travel from Grave Creek &c to the Salt Springs of the Muskingum and from thence to the Muskingum & Westward by different routes

on the route from the ohio to Lancester after we arrive in the Sixth Township of the Sixth range the greatest difficulty in obtaining a pritty direct & tollarable good road I apprehend will be found neer the Muskingum river eſpecially on the Westerly Side however I believe the difficulty of the Muskingum hills may be ſurmounted —

In the course deſcribed from the ford of Muskingum river at the foot of Duncans falls, to the falls of Hockhocking the Muskingum hills &c in the 10 & 11th Townships of the 13th Range are very high and the Country uncommonly broken, but it is pre-

ſumed that by winding the hills a paſsable road may be obtained and after entering the 14th Township of the 14th Range I expect a good roade may be had to the falls of Hockhocking without much difficulty —

From the Hockhocking river to Chillacothe the probability is that after falling into Dunmores path a little ſouthward of the falls we must follow a winding course through the 18th 19th & 20th Ranges into the flat Country a few Miles north of Chillacothe —

From the falls of Hockhocking to the Salt Springs of Scioto I have no information but what is obtained from the Minuts of Survey: from them the probability is that a pritty direct & tollarable good roade may be found —

With reſpect to the "existing roads already opened or Laid out through the country lying between the Scioto and the Steubenville district" I can give but little information. I am told that a wagon road has ben opened from Georgetown on the ohio neer the Mouth of Little Bever, to Gnadenhutten on the Muskingum & is conſiderably traveled and a horſe road from Gnadenhutten by or neer the river down to Zaneville: alſo a road from Wakatomaka to Scioto neer the mouth of Whetſtone river and a roade from Zaneville up Licking Creek to interſect the last mentioned road I have alſo ben informed that their is a horſe road opened from the ohio opposit Charlestown to the post road at the croſsing of Wills Creek theſe are all the roads North of the post road and properly lying between Steubenville diſtrict and the Scioto that I have heard of worth mentioning and I preſume none of them have ben laid out or eſtablished by legal authority —

to the ſouth of the post road; beſides the road

already mentioned from Grave Creek to the Salt works; a road has ben opened from the post road a few miles West of Wills Creek to the Salt works and a good Waggon road from thence to the Muskingum at the ford below Duncans falls: and from thence a horſe road was a few years Sence opened in a pritty direct courſe into the post road Some miles Eastward of Lancester

A road has lately ben laid out by ordor of the County Court from Marietta to Zaneville which enters the public Lands in Section N° 33 Township N° 6 Range N° 9 leaving the old horse path to the West untill it approaches within five or six mile of the Salt works

I have the honor to be with
great reſpect
Sir
your obedient Servent

The Hon^bl
ALBERT GALLATIN Esquire
Secretary of the Treaſury —

FROM M^R GALLATIN

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
October 6 1802

Sir.

Your letter of the 23^d August was received during a temporary excursion to New-York. It had been delayed longer than was expected, and M^r Woods had received a commiſsion before its receipt.

The circumstance of the capacity of M^r Edwin Putnam to fill the office, was known to me, before I had written to you on the subject; but there appeared some incompatibility in the son of the Surveyor General, being appointed Register of the Land-Office;

not that it was an objection which could not be overcome, for it was my intention to have recommended him to the President, if no respectable recommendation could be obtained for another person; but if another could be found, it was considered as more eligible.

I have the honor
to be, very respectfully
Sir,

RUFUS PUTNAM Esq[r]
Surveyor General
Marietta

Your obed[t] Serv[t]
ALBERT GALLATIN

TO M[R] GALLATIN

MARIETTA March 28[th] 1803

Sir

haveing communicated to the County Courts, of Wafhington and Belmont, your proposition of opening a road from Marietta to Wheeling by the way of S[t] Clairvill (expreſsed in your Letter to me of the 26[th] of June last[1]) they in December last appointed Committes to examin the ground and lay the road: confident of the utility of this road: not only for the accommodation of the travel in general, but also in promoteing the Sale of the public Lands through which it paſses & that it would be a Saveing of expence to employ a Surveyor in the first inſtence I accordingly agreed to furnish one: which meaſure I hope you will approve of

this new road leaves an old one already opened, about five mile from Marietta & in about two mile & a quarter enters the public lands and continues in them to St Clairville except croſsing a few Sections neer that Town which have ben Sold — the Distence

[1] Page 431.

Surveyed is Seventy mile & a few Chains — the Surveyors bills @ three Dollars per day while in the woods & two Dollars per day while making their returns amount to $84.50 —

with refpect to the expence of opening the road I find different opinions among those who have viewed the ground: but none Suppose that a Waggon road can be made twenty feet wide for Six Dollars per mile including the Survey; Some Suppose that it will cost double the labour on twenty feet wide that it would on twelve — on the whole I am of the opinion that four Dollars per mile for opening & makeing a paſsable Wagon road, twelve feet wide, is as low as may be expected that people will contract and in that propotion for a greater wedth — and confidering the nature of the country in general through which this road paſses I am of opinion that an opening of fifteen feet wide will anſwer very well — — —

In ordor to have the work don at the lowest poſsible rate I beg leave to Sugest the propriety of Some person being authorized (within Such limits as you Shall prescribe) to contract with the lowest bidder

I have the honour to be
with the highest refpect
Sir your obedient Servent

ALBERT GALLATIN Esquire
Secretary of the Treaſury

FROM M^R GALLATIN

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
April 16^th 1803

Sir

Your letter of the 28^th March[1] has been duly received.

[1] Page 437.

As you have taken the pains of having the road from Marietta to S[t] Clairville surveyed, I will thank you to contract with the lowest bidder for opening the same, and making it paſsable for a waggon, provided that the price shall not exceed five dollars per mile. The amount of that contract and the Account of the Surveyor, being both certified by you, will be discharged by the register of the land office at Steubenville, who has received instructions on that subject. —

I am, very respectfully
Sir,
Your Obed: Servt
— ALBERT GALLATIN

RUFUS PUTNAM Esq[r]
Surveyor General
Marietta.

FROM M[R] GALLATIN

TREASURY DEPARTMENT 21 Sept[er] 1803

Sir

The President of the United States having appointed Jared Mansfield of Connecticut Surveyor General of the United States, I have to request, that on his arrival at Marietta, you will deliver over to him the public papers, records, documents & other public property in your poſseſsion, and take, in concert with him, such arrangements respecting the completion of contracts for surveying not yet fully executed, as will prevent any embarraſsment in the public buſineſs and in the settlement of the accounts. You will be pleased to consider yourself authorized to act till M[r] Mansfield's arrival at Marietta, at which time your salary will cease & his will commence. After that date, it will not be proper for you to make

any further drafts on the Secretary of the Treasury; but you will be pleased to transmit, as early as convenient thereafter, your accounts to that time; any balance of public monies then in your hands you will pay to your succeſsor taking duplicate receipts for the same; and if any balance should be due to you, it will, on the settlement of your accounts, be transmitted in a draft on one of the receivers of public monies. At what time M^{r} Mansfield may reach Marietta, I cannot with precision determine, but presume it will be within a month from this date.

The agency in completing the road from Marietta to S^{t} Clair'sville being altogether distinct from the office of Surveyor General, I wish, that you would, if not inconvenient to yourself, finish what relates to that object.

I have the honour to be
with great respect
Sir
Your obed^{t} Serv^{t}
ALBERT GALLATIN

RUFUS PUTNAM Esq^{re}
Surveyor General
Marietta

TO M^{R} GALLATIN

MARIETTA February 18th 1804

Sir

M^{r} Manſfield arrived at Marietta the 25th of October But did not take charge of buſineſs in the office untill the first of November, to which time I continued in the office with my Clerks, have paid them accordingly & expect you will direct the payment of my Salary to that period —

Your request to "deliver over the public papers

records documents and other public property in my poſseſsion to" Mr Manſfield "and take in concert with him ſuch arangments reſpecting the compleation of contracts for Surveying not yet fully executed as will prevent any embarraſment in the public buſineſs and in the ſettlement of the accounts" has ben attended to with as much care as I Should have don had I had the honour of reſigning my office and Mr Manſfield on my recommondation ben appointed to ſucceed me; prehaps you may imagine this conduct looks like paſsive obedience and nonreſistence, or that I am courting favor. mistake me not I have don no more then what I concive to be the duty of every public officer in like circumſtances, and I am too independent to be influenced by the prejudices of the times ——

I had drawn for no more money then to balance my account closed to the 30th of September, therefore none to pay over to my Succeſsor ———

I have transmitted two accounts to the auditor for Settlement. No 1 besides Clerk hire for the month of october last contains an account of contingent expences in my office of various items, Sence its first opening but I trust their is none but what have ben admitted as a good Charge against the United States in Similar caſes. a few remarks may be neceſsary. the Charge for office rent is as low as ever paid in this town, the printing by Mr Collerick was Blanks for Leaſing the reſerved ſections, 203 leaſes had ben iſsued and the remaining Blanks have ben delivered to Mr Mansfield. as the Law made no provision for demanding a fee from the tennants, none was taken, the expence therefore I concive to be a good charge against the united States, eſpecially as the Writing them out would have taken up much time of the Clerks —

to pay the postage of the Registers returns, was an expence I could not avoid. as the Law required theſe returns to be made I was undoubtedly bound to recive them but ſurely Goverment could not intend that ſuch expence Should entirely be born by her officers

If any doubt is entertained with reſpect to the weight of these returns it may in a Meaſure be aſsertained by those in the office of the Register of the Treaſury of which theſe are Copies.

I have forwarded another account N° 2 for Service &c before I was appointed Surveyor General, & a tour in the Woods ſometime after on the ſame buſineſs. I ought to have preſented this to M^r Wolcott when I was at Philadelphia in 1799 but I forgot to take the papers with me at that time, and having contemplated paying a viſit to the Seat of goverment, I omitted Sending on the account untill now. — the amount of my claims are as follows

viz. per account N° 1	$385.68¾
per do N° 2	62.20
For my Salary for the month of october last	166.66⅔
	614.55

I have to request that you will give ſuch directions for the ſettlement of theſe accounts as to justice appertains, and for the balance found due to me please to forward a draught on one of the recivers of public moneys in this quarter —

My Contract for opening the road to St Clairville was at five Dollars per mile

70 mile 1 Ch^n	$350.06
Expence of the Survey	84.50
	434.56

The undertakers report that they have compleated the work. this was the last of December and the Seaſon has ben ſuch Severe as to for bid my having the work examined, this however will be don before I draw any money from Mr Hoge

Mr GALLATIN

FROM Mr GALLATIN

TREASURY DEPARTMENT
April 25th 1804. —

Sir,

Two Accounts in your favor having been settled at the Treasury, one amounting to $245.82, being for your own and Clerk's Salaries, from the 1st to the 31st day of October 1803, and one amounting to $62.20, being for your expenses & trouble in superintending the road from Wheeling to Limestone, in the year 1796, the Treasurer has been directed to remit these sums to you in drafts on Elijah Backus late Receiver of public monies at Marietta.

As it is poſsible that Mr Backus may have paid over the monies in his hands to his Succeſsor, you will please in that case to apply to Mr Tupper, who is directed to pay the Drafts.

I am, very respectfully
Sir,
Your obed: Servt
— ALBERT GALLATIN

RUFUS PUTNAM Esqr
late Surveyor General.

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